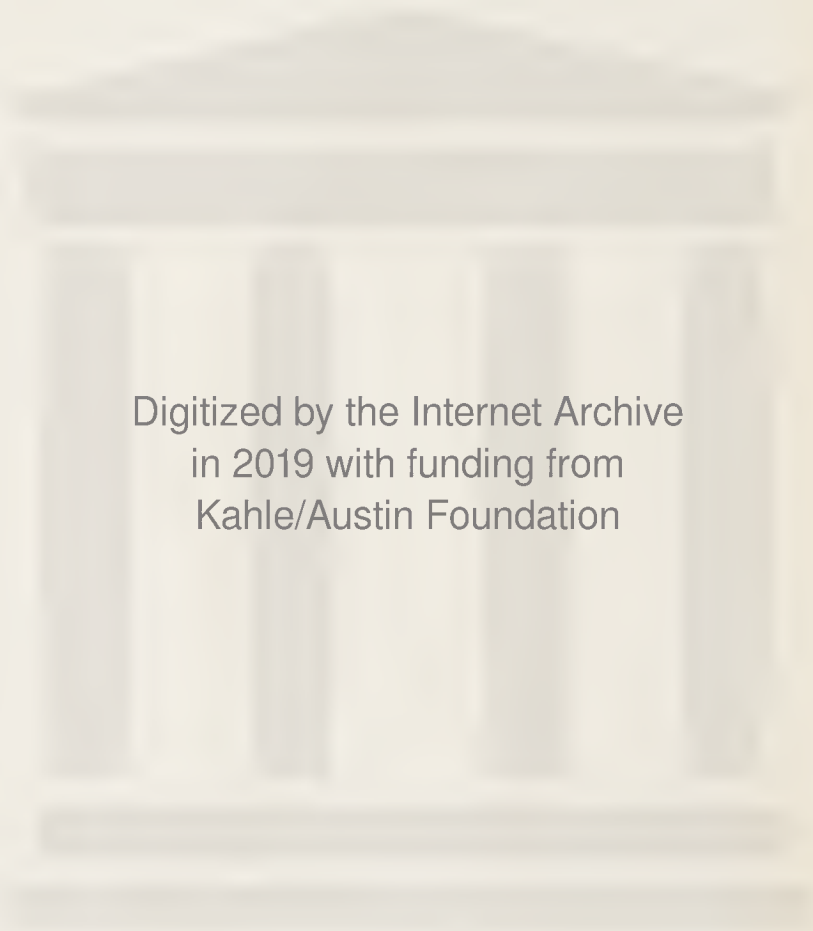


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HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

REPORT
ON THE
MANUSCRIPTS
OF
J. B. FORTESCUE, Esq..
PRESERVED AT
DROPMORE.
Vol. X.



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ERRATA.

- p.* 38. LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE. *The date of this letter has been misread : it should be 1810, March 15.*
- p.* 71, *l.* 33. *For C[larence] read C[umberland].*
- p.* 84, *l.* 2 *from bottom. For our read out.*
- p.* 115, *l.* 13 *from bottom. For Rust read Rush.*
- p.* 245, *l.* 18 *from bottom. For our read or.*
- p.* 380. THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE. *The date of this letter should be 1813, February 24.*

This Report was originally prepared for the Historical Manuscripts Commissioners by the late Mr. WALTER FITZPATRICK, who, however, only lived to see a part of it in print.

The completion of it was entrusted to Mr. FRANCIS BICKLEY, who has also compiled the Index.

The reference number suggested for this Report is 30.

INTRODUCTION.

The documents included in this volume, which brings the report on the collection of manuscripts preserved at Dropmore to a conclusion, were selected by the late Mr. Walter Fitzpatrick, the editor of its predecessors; and the proofs were in part corrected by him. Had he lived, he would no doubt have rounded off his labours with another of those learned and elaborate introductions which give the earlier volumes in the series a special value as contributions to the historical literature of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: indeed, he left a number of notes which show that such was his intention. It is not proposed, however, to attempt to follow him in an undertaking for which, by many years' study both of the collection itself and of the cognate material, published and unpublished, he had peculiarly fitted himself. All that is aimed at here is to summarise the general scope of the volume and to indicate some of its main features of interest.

With contents ranging in date from the beginning of 1810 to the middle of 1820, it covers a considerably longer period than any other in the series, except the first. After the failure of the negotiations of 1812, between Lords Grey and Grenville on the one hand and first Lord Wellesley and then Lord Moira on the other, there is a marked falling off in the frequency of Lord Grenville's correspondence, reflecting his gradual withdrawal from parliamentary activity and the growing improbability of his return to office. His regular correspondents, also, were one by one dropping away. The Marquess of Buckingham died in 1813, and Lord Auckland a year later. The last letter from Lord Grey in the collection was written on the last day of 1813, although his alliance with Lord Grenville did not actually come to an end until 1815. In the latter half of the decade with which it is concerned, the volume is almost monopolised by Thomas Grenville, whose own interest in public affairs was waning with the years.

At the beginning of 1810 the position of Perceval's Administration, which had been formed in the previous October but had not yet met Parliament, seemed to be very precarious. The Grenvillites, who on the resignation of Portland had refused to accede to a coalition, were bent on its downfall,

and looked forward to the coming session as an opportunity for hostilities which they hoped to carry to a successful conclusion. Lord Temple, Grenville's nephew, was "very eager for an amendment of censure" to the Address (p. 3), and Auekland, who, after boxing the political compass, had become a most virulent critic of Tory policy, was bent on "crimination and punishment" (p. 2). Lord Grenville himself was at the moment preoccupied with the social duties incidental to his Oxford chancellorship, and with the publication of his *Letter to the Earl of Fingal* on the Catholic question; but when Parliament assembled on January 23rd he was in his place in the House of Lords, where he moved an amendment to the Address calling attention to the "accumulated failures and disasters" of the Walcheren campaign, and promising an enquiry.

The amendment was defeated, as was a similar one in the Commons; nevertheless, the enquiry was instituted and Waleheren was the principal topic of the early weeks of the session. It was at this undeniably vulnerable point that Opposition believed themselves able mortally to wound the Ministry. "Upon the whole, unless the managers of the enquiry shall, by some infatuation, waste and destroy their advantages," wrote Lord Auckland, at a time when he was in agonised suspense over the fate of his eldest son (*see pp. 9-15 passim*), "it is not credible that the system of governing by weak and disjointed Ministries can be maintained above three or four weeks longer" (p. 11).

The incredible happened; and although Ministers suffered more than one defeat, and Lord Chatham, round whose indiscretion in submitting to the King a private memorandum in his own defence the debate chiefly centred, was forced to resign his office, the outcome of the enquiry was to show that Perceval, backed by the King, was more firmly established in power than his enemies had realised.

The fact was that if the Ministry was "weak and disjointed," the ranks of Opposition were even more so. There was an infinity of shades in their anti-Toryism. In the House of Lords, Grey and Grenville could count on the support of Lansdowne and Lauderdale; but Holland differed from them over the Peninsula War, and the Prince's friends, Erskine and Moira, were mistrusted as tainted with their patron's lack of principle. In the House of Commons matters were even worse. There was no one strong enough to serve as a rallying-point against disruption. Sheridan, who had the parts for such a task, lacked the character. Moreover, he was regarded with little favour by the Grenvilles, for, apart from his dissolute habits, like Moira he was too much at Carlton House and like Holland favoured the war. George

Ponsonby was the official leader, but there were many among his nominal followers who chafed against his timid and uninspiring rule. "Tierney quotes Anstruther as vehement against Ponsonby, and Adam and Abercrombie and a whole host of young ones" (p. 3). Tierney himself, though a man of ability, was not on very cordial terms with either Grenville or Ponsonby and was subject to temperamental fluctuations which unfitted him for leadership. Whitbread, Grey's brother-in-law, was gradually moving towards the "left" and becoming more and more closely associated with the little group of reformers, whose tenets were more repulsive to the aristocratic lords of Stowe and Dropmore than was the uncompromising Toryism of Eldon.

Whitbread's leanings were signally displayed during the session of 1810. In the Walcheren debates he won the warm approval of the heads of his party. His speeches were the most telling delivered from the Opposition benches, and it was to his motions, first for papers and afterwards for a vote of censure, that the discomfiture of Lord Chatham was directly due. But a month later, by his support of Sir Francis Burdett in the notorious onslaught on the authority of the House which carried the member for Westminster, amidst much popular excitement, to the Tower, he threw the moderate Whigs into consternation. His display of *Crown and Anchor* radicalism, ranging him with Waithman and Wardle, drove Tierney to "one of his moods of flat despair" and to talk of "making his farewell speech in Parliament" (pp. 26, 27); while Grey seriously mooted the advisability of withdrawing his followers "from a very constant and regular attendance in Parliament," and leaving the battle to the extremists (p. 28). This gesture of impotence was not actually made, but for the remainder of the session the part played by the Whigs in both Houses amounted to little more than the periodic registration of their disapproval of Tory policy. The only constructive measure for which they could claim credit was the appointment of the Bullion Committee on the motion of Francis Horner; and to the findings of that Committee, recommending the resumption of cash payments, effect was not given for several years.

Such being the state of Whig affairs, it is obvious that in the event of "a change" which, as Lord Buckinghamshire opined, would "throw the Government to Lord Grenville," the leader of the party would have been hard put to form a homogeneous Administration; and it is significant that when, in the middle of March, Perceval's Ministry seemed to be in imminent danger, the new Cabinet of which "they talked confidently" at Carlton House ignored the claims of the recognised Opposition to the succession. Under this rumoured

arrangement, Lord Wellesley was to be First Lord of the Treasury, the other principal offices were to be divided among Canning and his friends, and Perceval, consoled with a peerage, was to be relegated to the Duchy of Lancaster (p. 20).

After the disposal of the Walcheren question, which left the Ministry for the moment safe, Lord Grenville himself was rarely in Parliament. His health was in a very unsatisfactory state, and though he was well enough to be present at the Oxford Encænna in July, he spent the greater part of the year at Dropmore, where he was kept well supplied with news, and still more fully with criticism, by his correspondents. The constant theme of the jeremiads of Lord Auckland and Thomas Grenville was the war in Spain (Lord Buckingham was not at one with them on this subject), and their belittlement of Wellington's effort, their anxiety to lay stress on his setbacks and to doubt or minimise his successes, were lacking alike in imagination and in generosity. Auckland's attacks on the financial policy of the Government, and on the continued enforcement of the Orders in Council, which was rapidly embroiling the country with the United States, are worthier of respect.

At the beginning of October, 1810, rumours of Cabinet changes were again rife, though Perceval's attempts to strengthen his Government were likely to be rendered abortive by the mutual jealousies of Sidmouth, Canning and Castlereagh, the three prominent Tories out of office (p. 55). By the end of the month, however, the details of possible accommodations had lost their interest in face of the news that the King had had "a decided return of his former malady" (p. 59). In this disaster to the aged monarch the leaders of the Opposition, with whatever discreet moderation they might express themselves, saw their opportunity; for the Prince of Wales, though there was little love lost between him and either Grenville or Grey, was still believed to desire the return of the Whigs to power. Immediately on the declaration of the King's illness, he communicated with Grenville "merely as to the fact," accompanying his information "with very gracious expressions" (p. 61).

The initial question to be settled, however, apart from the problem of carrying on the government while there was no one in a position to exercise the functions of sovereignty, was the form which a Regency, if a Regency became necessary, should take. At first Lord Grenville was in favour of following closely the precedent of 1788 and establishing one hedged round with restrictions. This, seeing that he had taken a principal part in promoting the Bill of that year, was natural enough; but neither his brothers nor Lord Grey agreed with him. They insisted on the difference which the

King's greatly advanced age and the general state of his health made between the present crisis and the past, and Lord Grenville came round to their way of thinking; though a minute which he wrote on the subject, so late as December 30th (p. 95), displays some anxiety to save himself from the charge of inconsistency. That such a charge should be brought was an inevitable incident of party warfare, and a speech which Grenville had made in favour of restriction during the debates of twenty years before was reprinted and circulated by those whose interest it was to discredit him, Lord Auckland believed by the Treasury (p. 91).

The expedients adopted by Ministers for carrying on business during the difficult interval between the commencement of the King's incapacity and the settlement of the Regency question were severely criticised by Opposition; and Lord Grenville did not make their task easier by his refusal, as Auditor of the Exchequer, to sanction the issue of moneys for the supply of the Army, on the ground that Treasury warrants lacking the sign manual were not legal instruments.*

Meanwhile, the Prince's intentions were still in doubt. He was reported, "from the best authority," to have spoken "with complaint and bitterness of Opposition," declaring that all except Erskine had betrayed him to the King (p. 83). Nevertheless it was confidently expected that, once Regent, he would lose no time in getting rid of Perceval, and Grenville and his friends busied themselves with the provisional construction of Cabinets and disposition of minor officers.† Lord Grenville was a good deal exercised by the question whether on taking office he would be constrained to relinquish his emoluments as Auditor, his retention of which during his premiership in 1806 had given rise to much adverse comment (pp. 100, 101).

As matters turned out, of course, he was not called upon to make a decision. At the Prince's request he collaborated with Lord Grey in an answer to the Address from the two Houses of Parliament foreshadowing a restricted Regency (p. 97). This composition was rejected in favour of one prepared by Sheridan‡; a rebuff to which the "two Lord G's" replied with a remonstrance of somewhat excessive dignity (p. 103). The Prince's next step was to ask them to draw up a minute of their views as to the policy which he should adopt as Regent. They advised him, if the report of the King's physicians should point to the likelihood of a

* See Buckingham, *Memoirs of the Court of England during the Regency*, i, 15-18; and cf. Thomas Grenville's letter of Nov. 22, 1810, at p. 70.

† Cf. in particular, pp. 98, 104-108; also Lewis, *Administrations of Great Britain*, p. 326n.

‡ See Grey's account of his interview with Sheridan and Adam, at p. 100.

speedy recovery, to retain the present Ministers. If, on the other hand, his Regency was likely to be of indefinite duration, there should be a change, and the writers indicated that they were not only prepared to undertake the responsibility of Government but had already "considered of the means of forming a new Administration" (pp. 109, 110). This was written on January 21st. At the beginning of February, although the physicians' report, unfavourable to immediate recovery, had been made, the Prince had not yet come to a decision. The Regency Bill was to be passed on the fourth, and on the second Grey and Grenville wrote again, urging the necessity of a definite step (p. 116). Their note, though sent to Adam, the Prince's Attorney General, was not delivered to the Prince; for in the meantime he had come to his decision, and indicated his intention of retaining Perceval.

In May Lord Moira told Grey that "the Prince was daily accustoming himself more and more to these Ministers," who were supported by the powerful influence of the Duke of Cumberland and Lord Yarmouth (p. 136), but speculation was already rife as to what he would do when the restrictions, which had been imposed for a year, were removed. Moira's view, in which Grey concurred, was that he would probably try to "patch up" a coalition of his present servants with the Whigs; but whereas Moira was prepared to accept office in such an Administration, Grey objected the "fundamental and irreconcilable" differences, especially on the Catholic question, between his party and Perceval (p. 144).

It seemed likely enough, however, that the Ministry would fall before the end of the year. In appointing Lord Wellesley to the Foreign Office, Perceval had given himself an able but embarrassing colleague. Not only was the ex-Viceroy autocratic in temper, but he differed from the Prime Minister and the other principal members of the Cabinet as fundamentally as the Whigs on more than one important point. He was in favour of the Catholic claims, which Perceval, Liverpool and Eldon were pledged to combat, and he stood alone in urging a vigorous prosecution of the Spanish war. His future was a frequent subject of speculation among Lord Grenville and his correspondents. The question was whether he would leave the Cabinet or supplant Perceval. The latter was supposed to be not only his own aim but the wish of the Prince Regent; but when, in June, Moira proposed that himself and Wellesley should be appointed to offices in the Government, "in order to show that the present Administration is at an end, and that there may be an authority for the formation of a new one," the Prince refused to appoint Wellesley, though he offered to make Moira Secretary of State on the terms suggested (p. 151).

In August the Prince was said to be "intriguing" with Wellesley and Canning. This Canning denied: he was at Hinckley throughout the late summer, and it is clear from his letters to Bagot that he knew very little of what was going on.* His denials, however, were not implicitly believed by the Grenvilles (pp. 161, 167), whose long exclusion from power was in great measure due to their inability to believe in the good faith of either Wellesley or Canning.

The Whig leaders in fact were at this time very much on their guard. They expected proposals, but were by no means prepared to accept them at their face value.

"Whatever the present appearances may be," Grey wrote to Grenville, "I think it hardly possible the Prince should take the step either of confirming the present men as Ministers, or of appointing new ones without, at least, some communication with us. You cannot wish more anxiously than I do that this may consist merely in assigning his reasons for having altered the intention which he voluntarily professed to us last spring. But I am more inclined to expect, in conformity to the conversation with Moira which I repeated to you before I left London, that we shall have a proposal for a strong and united Administration; not so much from any real desire to effect that object, as from the hope of rendering us unpopular by a refusal" (pp. 167, 168).

As it turned out, no proposals were yet to be made. The Prince, whose mind was changing on the Catholic question, was becoming more and more reconciled to Perceval, and he was offended with the Whigs for their lukewarm support of the proposed amendments to the Regency Bill, "an unconciliatory tone used in some of the communications," and "the hostile conduct of several individuals in the House of Commons on the re-appointment of the Duke of York" (p. 170). In Lord Grey's view, he continued "to meditate a change," but procrastinated from fear of the exertion required and the difficulties to be encountered (p. 183). The year ended with Perceval still at the head of an unmodified Cabinet.

In January, 1812, however, the differences between the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary came to a head. On the twelfth of the month Wellesley tendered his resignation, but yielded to the Prince's expressed wish that he should remain in office.† On the twenty-third Lord Buckingham quoted the anonymous correspondent, by whom he was supplied with so many details from behind the political scene, to the effect that "in the course of the last ten days Lord

* See Bagot, *George Canning and his Friends*, i, 371 et seqq.

† *Wellesley Papers*, ii, 69.

Wellesley *certainly* entertained the idea of 'throwing himself on Lord Grenville and Lord Grey, if he could understand himself with them on the Spanish war,' and the Prince *certainly* discussed that coalition with him as late as Thursday, '*in case Mr. Perceval should resign immediately*'" (p. 193). On January 28th Lord Grenville, answering a letter from Grey which had "surprised him not a little," but has not survived, stated that he had received information that "Perceval had resolved to give way as to the Catholic question and Wellesley to go out." Grey's letter had evidently discussed the line which the Whigs ought to pursue should they be invited to take office, and Grenville's long reply is an interesting statement of his own views on various questions at issue, especially the resumption of cash payments and "economical reform" (pp. 197 *et seqq.*). On February 6th Lord Grenville made a memorandum, of which the concluding portion has unfortunately disappeared, of a conversation between himself and Grey, of which the subject was the Prince's intention, in the event of the dissolution of the Ministry, to approach the Opposition leaders through the agency of the Duke of York and Lord Moira (p. 205). A week later the Prince wrote the famous letter to his brother, in which, in view of the approaching expiration of the Regency restrictions and his desire that "some of those persons with whom the early habits of his public life were formed would strengthen his hands and constitute a part of his Government," he authorized the Duke to communicate with Lord Grey. Both that letter and that of Lords Grey and Grenville to the Duke, in which they pointed out the impossibility of their coalescing with the present Ministers (pp. 212, 213), were printed in the *Annual Register* for 1812, but they are here supplemented by a minute of the conversation between the Duke and the two Whig peers (p. 217) and a valuable memorandum of a conversation on the subject between the Prince Regent and the Archbishop of York, in which the Prince expressed himself with great frankness and bitterness (p. 220).

Lord Wellesley meanwhile had not yet quitted office. A calendar of the events which led to his deferring his resignation until the expiration of the restrictions is given in a letter from Lord Buckingham, who calls it "a history of low and dirty intrigue," and is corroborated by Lord Grenville (pp. 203, 204). In the middle of February, however, when it had become apparent that there was to be no reconstruction of the Cabinet on the lines which he desired, the Foreign Secretary again tendered his seals, and this time they were accepted. His place was taken by Castlereagh, and in April Sidmouth succeeded Camden, who remained in the Cabinet without office, as Lord President of the Council.

The confusion which followed the assassination of Perceval is interestingly reflected in this correspondence (pp. 245 *et seqq.*). No immediate approach was made to Grenville and Grey, whom the Prince had not forgiven for their rejection of his former overtures. But when the attempt to amalgamate Wellesley and Canning with Liverpool, Sidmouth and Castlereagh had inevitably failed, and when, a motion for an address to the Regent to form a strong and efficient Administration having been carried in the Commons, Liverpool had resigned, Wellesley was authorized to approach the Whig leaders. The story of these negotiations, and of Moira's attempt after Wellesley's failure, is very well known. Many of the relevant documents were published by Lord Wellesley himself and also in the *Annual Register*. Those of which copies exist at Dropmore, however, are here reprinted in conjunction with other letters bearing on the same subject (pp. 266-288). It seems hardly necessary to analyse them: it is quite clear that Grey and Grenville were determined from the first that the negotiations should prove abortive, and the irritation expressed by Moira, in a letter which has not yet been published, is not unpardonable. "The Opposition are behaving as ill as possible," he wrote. "An unhandsome impatience at not having everything at their own disposal makes them fight off upon petty distractions and little captious forms. I regard it as impossible to settle anything with them."*

Nevertheless, there was a good deal of talk in the autumn of a concert with Wellesley in opposition to the strictly Tory Government which Liverpool had managed to form. The Marquess approached Grey through Sir Robert Adair, and Grey communicated with Grenville. Both the Whig lords were cautious and lukewarm. They did not altogether trust Wellesley, and Canning, whom they suspected of being involved in the arrangement, they frankly distrusted (pp. 299, 307, 313 *et seqq.*). Wellesley, however, seems to have been genuinely anxious for a union and disclaimed being in any way bound to Canning (p. 319),† whose own views are expressed in a letter to the Marquess printed in the *Wellesley Papers*.‡

"I know that the stand on the Isthmus between the two parties is very difficult to maintain. I have kept my balance there for near three years, and can therefore speak to it with some experience; but I am equally convinced that it ought to be maintained at whatever cost or exertion, and that in retreating from the Ministry

* *Hastings MSS.*

† Cf. Buckingham, *Memoirs*, i, ch. xv. *passim*.

‡ ii, 127.

to fall over into Opposition would be to lose entirely the vantage ground which we occupy in public opinion, and to identify ourselves with a lost cause."

In the event, though Wellesley and Grenville frequently found themselves at one in their disapproval of the policy of the Ministry, no definite alliance was formed. Indeed, their diametrically opposite views on the Peninsula question made such an alliance hardly possible.

It appears from a letter of Grey's, dated November 17th, 1812 (p. 311), that Grenville at this time wished to give up the leadership of his party and to hand it over to his colleague. Grey, while not trying to dissuade him, urged his own disabilities for the task, and the greater fitness of Lord Holland. Grenville did not pursue his intention; but both he and his friends were in a state of extreme despondency. "Public affairs . . . are evidently going from bad to worse in every quarter where we have any concern or interest, at home or abroad," wrote Auckland (p. 321). "I see less and less the possibility of our doing any good," wrote Grey (p. 327).

The death of Lord Buckingham in February, 1813, was a cause of great grief to his younger brothers. Though he had long ceased to take any active part in affairs, the Marquess had remained keenly interested and critical and had been Lord Grenville's constant mentor. During his latter years he had been much harassed by the attacks in the House of Commons, of which Thomas Creevey was the moving spirit, on his sinecure office of Teller of the Exchequer, the annual profits from which, swollen by the abnormal financial transactions of war-time, amounted to 20,000*l.* (pp. 122, 195, 235 *et seqq.*). With great reluctance Buckingham agreed with Lord Camden, the other Teller, that a third part of this enormous and fortuitous income should, during the war, be surrendered to the Treasury. What hurt him most in the whole affair was evidently the attitude of his own nephew, Lord Ebrington, whom he had himself put into Parliament and who showed so little proper family feeling that he was ready to apply for the Chiltern Hundreds rather than support his uncle's interests (pp. 300 *et seqq.*).

As the war against Napoleon began to take a more favourable course, the original differences of opinion between Grey and Grenville, which had so long been submerged, began to re-appear. It was not until after the escape from Elba that they definitely parted company, but a series of letters written in October and November, 1813, dealing with the question of peace terms and with Lord Grenville's speech on the Address at the opening of Parliament, clearly show that they were no longer unanimous and felt the necessity of treading

cautiously with one another (pp. 391 *et seqq.*). So far as this collection is concerned, those letters were practically the last in the correspondence between the two peers. Unlike Grey, Grenville had always believed in the necessity of fighting Bonaparte to a finish. It was only as to the methods by which he should be fought that he differed from the Tory Ministers; and particularly on the policy of carrying on the war in the Peninsula. And as he saw Wellington and those who had supported him reaping the fruits of their tenacity, his criticism on that head was silenced. In the speech referred to he expressed entire concurrence with the sentiments of the speech from the Throne, in which praise of Wellington had been a prominent feature; and it was with pride and approval that he learned that his nephew, the new Marquess of Buckingham, had volunteered for foreign service (p. 360).^{*} When, however, "the time-serving gowns and cassocks and mitres of Oxford" prepared, in terms of "fulsome adulation," an address of congratulation to the Regent, which it would be the office of the Chancellor of the University to present, Grenville showed that his opinion of the personal merits of the Prince and his Ministers was as unfavourable as ever (pp. 370 *et seqq.*).

The rumours which were afloat in 1814 that Lord Grenville was to join the Government[†] are not referred to in this correspondence, and since there is a complete absence of letters between early January and the middle of May, 1815, not much light is thrown on the Hundred Days, when Grenville was in complete agreement with Liverpool's war policy. In fact, although the collection comes down to 1820, it grows progressively more scanty, and the later letters of Thomas Grenville, the only regular writer after the death of Lord Auckland, are more concerned with his personal and literary interests than with politics.

At the beginning of 1817 the Ministry was in such difficulties that it was thought that the Opposition leaders might be sent for and, according to Tierney, Grey was only prevented by his wife's being ill with scarlet fever from inviting Lord Grenville to a discussion of the situation (p. 419). The expected crisis, however, did not occur, and a little later rumours again grew rife that the Grenvilles were about to separate themselves finally from the reforming Whigs[‡] and ally themselves with the Government (p. 423). In 1818 the older members of the family were a good deal disturbed by the conduct of Lord Buckingham in opening negotiations with Lord Liverpool through the Secretary of the Treasury

^{*} Cf. Buckingham, *Memoirs*, ii, 44.

[†] *Ibid.*, ii, 103.

[‡] Cf. *Ibid.*, ii, 183, etc.

(pp. 432 *et seqq.*),* and making unauthorized use of his uncle's name. The Marquess's object, in which he was associated with his cousin Charles Wynn, recently an unsuccessful candidate for the Speakership, was to form a third political party. Lord Grenville approved neither the object nor the means by which his nephew sought to accomplish it; and the third party never achieved a very real or effective existence. Buckingham's "political coquetry," as his austere uncle called it, bore fruit, however, four years later, when the Marquess became a Duke and Charles Wynn entered the Cabinet as President of the Board of Control.

FRANCIS BICKLEY.

* Cf. Buckingham, *Memoirs*, ch. x, *passim*.

CALENDAR.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF
J. B. FORTESCUE, ESQ.,
PRESERVED AT DROPMORE.

VOL. X.

Private. LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1810,] January 4. Eden Farm.—“The false intelligence exposed *confidentially* in the enclosed note is curious, because it is every day repeated with new circumstances in the Government papers ; I suppose for the purpose of suspending the public attention to other matters. Starhemberg may have personal reasons for wishing it not to be known that he is here in a private capacity.

“I am assured that the Princess of Wales, in her answer to Lord Eldon’s expostulation, said she was not aware that he laid so much stress on the Oxford Chancellorship, because it was a place merely of honour and not of profit.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

[1810, January 6. Cleveland Square.]—“I send you the enclosed to show you that there is no spirit of hostility in the Primate ; as soon as I hear more of his remarks from Dutens, you shall know them.

“Here is a report current in the streets of Buonaparte being assassinated ; the news is said to be just arrived both from Boulogne and Calais ; nothing is any day more probable, but if it were true, it would probably be ascertained beyond a doubt.

“Lord Stafford will dine with you and your Oxonians ; the Bishop of Norwich is in town in Wimpole or Welbeck Street ; the Archbishop is to consecrate some bishop on the 13th in London, so that he may perhaps be here on the 10th ; Lord Auckland seems to me better than the Chief Baron ; I think you are right in not asking the High Steward ; but I think you are wrong in not asking both Abbott and Sir William Scott. And in your place I should write a note to the latter particularly to ask him, and should observe to him that I did not take the liberty of asking the Lord High Steward, as I supposed it might not be agreeable to him, but that I trusted his brother, Sir William, would have no reluctance to attend the University on that occasion.”

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1810, January 8.] Eden Farm.—“I will order a dress coat to be duly aired for Wednesday, and will sleep after your ceremonies at Mr. Wedderburn’s in Upper Grosvenor Street.

“To an ex-Ambassador it would be material if you would say whether you mean a gala-dress (embroidery). Even in these minute particulars I am desirous to show respect to the University in return for the choice which they have made; and we must all endeavour that the individuals also who opposed us may make a favourable report of their reception.

“I wrote to you three days ago at Dropmore to say that there is no truth in the reported negotiation at Paris; though it is again asserted in the last night’s *Courier*. There never existed a Government so much addicted to lying.

“I understand that Lord Clive moves the Address.

“Mr. Dundas has very obligingly informed me that he has no reason to give credit to the rumours of a mutiny in the East Indies. It is, however, admitted that by the last accounts from Madras there were symptoms of much exasperation among the native troops.

“On the coolest review of the three last years it appears to me that from respect to consistency, to truth, to just policy, and to history we ought to point our proceedings towards crimination and punishment; still, however, leaving a loop-hole to the numerous and transitory supporters of the mad and mischievous measures which ought to be arraigned.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1810, January 12.] Upper Grosvenor Street.—“We are just arrived here to stay till Thursday morning, when I shall be apt to escape early, if at any time previous or subsequent to the businesses of to-morrow I can catch five minutes’ conversation with you. I shall not attempt it to-morrow morning, as you will be busy; but you have omitted to say when the ceremony of investment is to take place, and I send to know by a verbal message.

“I am glad to see that the Dean of Christ Church is one of the delegates; he gave last week a studentship to my nephew Henley Eden; and he has offered another to my son Morton, now at Eton; which will be accepted in preference to a Bengal writership kept open for him by the late Chairman of the India Company.

“This East India news is unpleasant. Mr. Dundas had the goodness to write a note to me yesterday morning; his words are: ‘By the last account from Madras, dated 10th August, and forwarded by General Maitland from Ceylon, I am sorry to find that the commotions among the Company’s troops under the Government of Madras had assumed a very formidable aspect, and that Lord Minto was proceeding to that presidency.’

“There will be a sad dearth of cheerful topics for the King’s Speech.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

[1810, January 12. Cleveland Square.]—“I have shown Tierney the letter from Lord Grey, which he was to see. It is a kind letter, and will make the conversation easier with Ponsonby when he arrives; still I think you must in common prudence reserve the ease of a new Ministry requiring a new consideration. Tierney quotes Anstruther as vehement against Ponsonby, and Adam and Abercrombie and a whole host of young ones; if this be so I know not how he can go on; but if he will try he must.

“Moore’s retirement is a scandalous job. He retires by his own desire in perfect health with a pension of 1,800*l. per annum* after holding the office of Secretary *six years*.

“Merry succeeds him, because the Military Board made his office of Inspector at 1,500*l. per annum*, and 900*l. per annum* for furnishing coals to Gibraltar, unnecessary; therefore Merry kindly undertakes both those offices, and the business of Secretary to the War Office for 2,000*l. per annum*. You see in other words that instead of suppressing the two useless offices of Merry of 2,400*l. per annum*, they buy Moore’s retirement at 1,800*l. per annum* to give Merry Moore’s place of 2,000*l. per annum*, and this while they are ostentatiously economizing upon the pay of the corporals of the local regiments.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1810, January 12. Cleveland Square.]—“By some mistake of the post your letter to me is but this moment come (at half-past five); but if I had more time I could only say, as I have, that I think Grey’s letter to George Ponsonby will do good in relieving you and Grey from embarrassment in conversing with George Ponsonby. The real difficulty is perhaps insuperable. Windham is at Bristol; I know not when he returns, but I hope you will persuade Lord Buckingham to come up, as I think London is always wholesome for his case.

“Temple is very eager for an amendment of censure; I still incline to some few words of the disgrace and calamity that has fallen upon the country. This will be thought uncordial, but I believe it right, and more advantageous than the taking a milder course to get more votes.”

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

[1810, January 19. Eden Farm.]—“I enclose my proxy and have signed it with a transient qualm as being a symptom of what courtiers call ‘diminished energies.’ The *non sum qualis eram* is always an unpleasant avowal. In truth I am preparing to join your army in perfect health, and with the

same alacrity of mind which I was wont to have ; but repeated and serious experience has convinced me that I can no longer bear the heat and fatigue of long and crowded debates.

“I shall be in Palace Yard very early on Tuesday morning to discharge the small details of the Great Chamberlainship, and also to search for Popish conspirators, in which duty I am accompanied by a detachment from St. James’s.

“My headquarters that night and Wednesday night will be at Mr. Wedderburn’s. I have a long meeting with the Speaker and the Westminster Commissioners on Thursday morning ; after which I return to this place till the 31st, on which day we are to settle in Palace Yard till the 5th May. If I can be of any use at any hour on Tuesday or Wednesday I can attend your commands.

“If your letter should not make its first appearance in the newspapers (which perhaps is the best mode) but in a pamphlet, your friends might usefully circulate 4 or 500 copies. I am sure at least that I could send 40 or 50 copies with advantage to different parts of the kingdom.

“I yesterday received a letter from a noble lord, whose name I will not mention on paper, whence I transcribe the following very foolish phrase : ‘I am sorry that I must continue to vote in hostility to you, but I think it a sacred duty to protect our venerable monarch against a combination of men who would avail themselves of public misfortunes not justly attributable to his present Minister, to lord it over him, and to bind him in chains.’ I transcribe the paragraph, because, silly as it is, I conceive it to contain all the pith and marrow of the answer that will be made to your speech.”

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, January 19. Stowe.—“This morning’s post brought me the copy of your letter written out by your good little secretary, and that which Fremantle had very carefully directed to me and which the post as usual mis-sent to Birmingham. It is really intolerable that there is no remedy against such misconduct or carelessness. I sent Dick with it to Buckingham, and I shall have 12 copies of it to-morrow, which I shall send to you by my son, who will dine with you on Sunday. I have corrected two clerical errors, and I have ventured to add two words that will explain a little more clearly the force of the opinion given on the *Veto* by the Catholic bishops, for both Dick and I thought that you had stated it too lightly ; but if you differ from us, as this alteration is at the end of a paragraph, it may be left out in the corrected copy, which you will return by Monday’s post, that I may have it on Tuesday. I send you my proxy, because I really feel quite unable to attend on the first day, and if I must sacrifice myself, I had rather attend on some day of more direct and immediate interest ; but whether this will be or not I feel that I am not equal to the journey and the attendance at present.

“As to any other alteration in your letter, I certainly do not press for any, but I think you might have added to the captivity and deposition of the Pope the additional fact of the declaration from that same hostile power that the nomination of the Bishop of Rome would in future be the act of the Sovereign in the same manner as the nomination of the Archbishop of Paris; and in *arguing* this question of the no control on the bishop's election, you will of course advert to that principle as being *new* in the Christian Church, and very doubtful as with respect to the Irish Roman Catholic bishops, who claim to exercise the presentation to all the ecclesiastical patronage of that Church and have no connection with, dependence on, or control from either their clergy, their laity or the Government; a power certainly very questionable at any time and in any hands. How far anything of this sort should be hinted in your letter I doubt, but I am sure that it ought to be fully and fairly stated in Parliament. Upon the whole, I am quite satisfied with the letter, and equally so with the line itself which you have taken, and I rejoice in the blow you give to Dr. Milner, whose conduct in that matter is very reprehensible; and his last letter from Woolverhampton in Cobbett's paper is that of a very dog.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE SAME.

[1810, January 20. Cleveland Square.]—“The cold wind obliged me to fly from Surgeon's Hall.

“Lord Grey has just left me, and has desired me to lose no time in expressing to you his wishes, in which Lord Lansdowne and I very entirely concur, that Ponsonby should now be announced as retaining his situation as leader. Lord Grey thinks it desirable that you should say this to Ponsonby in the course of to-morrow morning; as it is very important that no more delay should take place respecting George Ponsonby, he desires that you will speak to G[eorge] P[onsonby] from himself as well as from yourself.

“Lord Grey brings his amendment with him to dinner, and I very much regret that you cannot come likewise, as it would be so good an opportunity of talking it over. I expect Lord Holland and Windham, though I am not sure of them.”

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO THE SAME.

1810, January 21. Stowe.—“I cannot sufficiently express my fullest approbation and delight at receiving from you the final corrections of the letter. George is gone with them to Buckingham to urge Seeley to print in the course of this evening and night about 50 or 60 copies ready for him to take to-morrow morning about nine o'clock, and to deliver to you at Camelford House in the course of the evening. That will enable you to send a copy (if you should choose it) for the use of the *Morning Chronicle*, who will print it late on

Tuesday, so as to operate on the conscientious division in both Houses. If Sceley can print more, you shall have them by George, but if not, they will arrive by the coach, and I shall send altogether 100 of them to you unless you should call for more. I shall send some few copies of them to Ireland by the first post. You will observe that in the proof that Lord Temple will have shown you, I have, by inserting the words 'in a declaration signed,' pointed more distinctly at their bishops' paper; but having observed that you persevere in your amended copy in glancing at this paper rather than in describing it more exactly, and thinking that it might inflame the mad Irish Catholic against these very timid pastors of a very unmanageable flock, I have left them out, and restored the text as it stands in your copy. Everything else is altered as you wished.

"I am quite satisfied that you are right in what you have done, but I think it more than probable that your letter will produce increased hostility from the King and the *Anti-Jacobin*, the two great champions of Protestantism; the latter of which, however, your new subject, Dr. Hodson, is proceeding to prosecute, in my opinion very unwisely, by due course of law; but he states all Oxford, by which he means the common room at Brasenose, in arms on this attack upon him. Pray (if you can) talk him out of such folly. He is delighted with your letter and the Homer. I trust that it is well bound.

"I have been over-fatigued by my Christmas party, and very unwell for the last week. My proxy must therefore speak for me, and the parchment will be at least as eloquent as I should have been; but I am anxious to know what is to become of the *Catholic* question, and as Lord Fingall will not take upon himself to give it in charge elsewhere, he must lose some time before any decision can be made."

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, January 22. Richmond Park.—"Many thanks for your letter and the enclosure, which I received on Saturday afternoon. I entirely concur in the opinion that an enquiry is necessary, and also think that if an intention to that effect is not distinctly stated in the Address, it ought to be expressed in an amendment. In this case, however, I should be anxious that the amendment should be so worded as not to appear to prejudice the questions to which the enquiry would apply, and that the words between brackets in the House of Commons' amendment should be omitted. Lord Buckinghamshire and Bathurst concur in these observations; which are further explained by some pencil marks made in different parts of the copy, which on that account I return to you." 1 enclosure.

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

[1810, January 27.] Tuesday night. Eden Farm.—"When I wrote to you on Sunday morning I and mine were in the

imaginary possession of as much domestic happiness and cheerfulness as the heart of man can desire : I now write to you under sensations of an opposite extreme.

"Yesterday at noon a servant arrived at Palace Yard to inform us that Mr. Eden had walked out at eight o'clock on Friday evening, saying that he should return at nine ; and that he had not since been heard of. We went instantly to town and returned to-night to this place, after an agony of thirty hours. We have not any idea where he can be, nor any trace or circumstance to guide us. He was well, he had been cheerful through the day ; his disposition was always most regular and most cheerful. He had to a certain degree every advantage that this world can give, and was the friend and favourite of the minds and affections of every individual of his very numerous family. We have taken every possible measure to learn what is become of him, and hitherto without any effect. We must believe that something fatal has happened. You and Lady Grenville know well the terms on which Lady Auckland and I lived with our sons, and their unreserved attachment to us ; you know therefore what our sufferings must be and the sufferings of all who surround us.

"I did not think it right to mention these circumstances earlier, because I knew that they would depress your mind in the duties and exertions of this day. I have now said all that I know, and I entreat you not to think it necessary to write any answer. You can write nothing on the subject that will not be painful to you ; and nothing can be said to lessen this calamity in the dispensations of Providence."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1810, January 30.] Eden Farm.—"The kind attentions of a near friend in the hour of calamity swell the heart somewhat painfully ; still however they are soothing and most acceptable. We cordially thank both you and Lady Grenville.

"We had so long been so completely *and so securely* happy, that we were ill prepared for an affliction so strange and so inconceivable. The blow fell upon us like a thunderbolt ; we can only look up to the hand which gave it, with consternation and deep submission.

"Our enquiries are continued in every direction ; hitherto, they have produced nothing but false intelligence, idle rumours, and absurd anecdotes ; and the suspense is severe.

"I trust that Lady Auckland's health will not materially suffer ; in other respects her mind is strong and religious, and she will gradually return to her domestic duties.

"I already occupy myself with the small details of this place, and am adverting, a little, to what is going forwards in the public bustles, so far as I can draw any conclusions from the very imperfect information which reaches me."

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, February 12. Eden Farm.—“ I feel, as I ought to do, all the kindness, purport and tendency of your letter of the 9th. My whole existence is enfeebled, worn and shaken by the agonising suspense in which I have passed three *long* weeks; and the probability of relief from that suspense grows less from day to day. Still, however, I share with Lady Auckland a sense of the moral and religious duties of life, so long as life shall be continued to us, and that persuasion will gradually help to restore us to the society and affections of many friends whom we love and respect.

“ I cannot say that I have yet adverted, otherwise than superficially, to what is going forwards either in Parliament or on the Continent. I occupied myself during the eight last days, with the assistance of my son George, in examining his brother’s books and papers. They are numerous, and show a mind cheerfully and intently employed (to the last moment of our seeing him) in a course of study and self-improvement with a view to public business.

“ I hope in a few days more to be able (at all events) to advert to the Parliamentary papers of the session. They are regularly sent to me. From what I learn incidentally, the Walcheren enquiry is likely to leave the Ministers and ex-Ministers without a shadow of excuse, either for the folly of the plan of campaign, or for the criminal neglect and want of all due information, or for the weakness in the execution, or (above all) for the hard-hearted sacrifice of many thousand lives, when it was known (even by them) that no possible good could be attained.

“ Still it is possible, in these times, and in the lost state of the public mind, that it may not be practicable to punish, or even to censure, a set of men whose delinquency as to every great interest of the Empire has been great beyond example. Mr. York’s [Yorke’s] measure, intended to assist them, may perhaps have the contrary effect by shortening the examinations, and by bringing the question to an early decision.

“ It is true that the *coup de grace* must be given in the House of Commons, but it is not less true that our powerful host of friends in the House of Lords is essential towards the eventual formation of such a Government as the times and the public circumstances, at home and abroad, require.

“ Lord Bathurst’s vapouring assertions that there is an increase of trade which proves the wisdom of the wild measures of commerce, are not more immodest than the intimation in the King’s speech that the capture of Walcheren had been productive of advantages; and still less extravagant than the reference in the same speech to Lord Wellington’s military achievement as having driven the French out of Portugal, and consequently as contributing to save the Peninsula.

“ The characteristic style of Lord Mulgrave’s answers

to Lord Melville will not conciliate the latter, nor eventually promote the attendance and support of the Scotch peers.

“Upon the whole, unless the managers of the enquiry shall, by some infatuation, waste and destroy their advantages, it is not credible that the system of governing by weak and disjointed Ministries can be maintained above three or four weeks longer.”

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to THE SAME.

[1810,] February 15. Stowc.—“The Spanish news is indeed most decisive, for, as to Cadiz holding even for ten days it is wholly out of the question, and I should suppose that the Eastern and Southern provinces must soon fall if the Sierra is forced. But in truth the only real sierra, I mean the Spanish mind and their energy of resistance, has been forced long since. With respect to Alava’s fleet, I feel much more disposed to think that they will secure Purvis with the *Atlas* and *Invincible* than that we shall secure them. In truth if the French fleet now at Toulon can get to Cadiz without an action with Lord Collingwood, the consequences both immediate and in prospect are almost incalculable. I happen to know that Government have thoughts of sending a fleet to Cadiz under Sir J. Duckworth, and that 12 sail will be ready in *ten days*! I really think that you do not do justice to Lord Wellington, of whose military conduct, after much reflection, I think much higher than you do; and so far from wishing him and his army at Plymo’ (even supposing Cadiz in the hands of France), I am far from being sure that it may not be wise to employ the French for one campaign in Portugal rather than to wait for them in Ireland. The conquest of Seville and Cadiz and the recovery of that fleet into the hands of Bonaparte will still leave Spain very unquiet, and with very large demands for men and garrisons; and though I have no confidence in saving Portugal by 25,000 English troops and 30,000 Portuguese, yet I think it a very great question whether it may not be wise to endeavour to save it for one campaign; and my partialities as well as my cooler judgment lead me to think that Lord Wellington would be usefully and well employed in this object.

“I received the enclosed yesterday, and only wait for your commands to answer anything or nothing to it. You remember that I wrote to him by your desire at Dropmore at the moment when we understood D[uke] of Beaufort to have withdrawn himself, and he never answered my letter, which begun by supposing him to have been engaged to the Duke. I suppose you must continue him in his office of secretary, and it will most probably be very soon in your hands again, for he is very infirm, and I am sorry to understand that the Deputy Librarian Mathews, who is much the fittest man for the Bodleian, will probably be opposed. With respect to the *Secret* that keeps me here, be assured that

whenever I enter into *secret* negotiation with Government you shall know of it. My present *secrets* are with my gardener and steward, and the balance against London is increased by the conviction that I am good for no one thing when in town, even if under such a King, such a Parliament, and such a Government any one hope could be entertained of doing any good. But in pure compliance with your most urgent and repeated calls, and very much against my wishes and inclinations I have determined to obey them within the next 14 days. Will that content you ? ”

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, February 18. Richmond Park.—“ I am sorry that, owing to the lateness of my return from town, it was not in my power to communicate to you yesterday evening the view I had taken of the subject of our conversation in the House of Lords on Friday, and likewise what occurred to me upon reading your proposed amendment.

“ I continue to think that our honour, and our own immediate interests impose upon us the obligation of affording to Portugal all the assistance in our power for the purpose of delaying its final subjugation ; and I confess myself to be anxious that a disposition to this effect should be manifested by Parliament without further delay. What proportion of the pecuniary charge, which the present situation of Portugal requires, can and ought to be defrayed from her own resources is undoubtedly a point of great moment, and one which, in all probability, has not received from Government the consideration which it deserves ; but I don't see how any satisfactory explanation of it is to be obtained by a motion in Parliament ; nor indeed does such information appear to be aimed at by the motion made by your lordship on Friday. I should therefore be unwilling to occasion the inconvenience which, as I conceive, would arise from delay ; particularly as the effect of it would not be to afford information that would bear upon my view of the subject. May it not also be plausibly objected to the intended motion for delay that it comes from the same quarter as that from whence proceeded the motion for papers on Friday last, and the wish for an earlier discussion than had been proposed by Government.

“ I send a servant with this letter, because it may be an accommodation to you to receive an early answer, and because I could not, without great inconvenience, reach Camelford House in tolerable time to-morrow.”

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1810, February 19. Eden Farm.—“ The enclosed copy of my letter to the Attorney General, and his answer, will explain themselves—I wrote nothing further. I add a letter of the 5th from Lord Buckinghamshire that you may be

apprized of the small circumstance in the paragraph marked *. To that paragraph I made no reply, conceiving it to contain merely a good-natured conversation of no real importance, and lastly, I send a short but affecting note which I received this morning from my old and most kind friend the Duke of Marlborough.

“I send these papers for your consideration. First, as to the Tellership. Having the concurrence of the Treasury and of the Attorney General that George can legally execute the office of Deputy Teller, in the actual circumstances, he has continued to attend occasionally at the Exchequer, to superintend the office, and to sign the receipts, and the new issues are made to his brother’s name. But this course cannot last beyond a certain time; and I have no conjecture what can next be done, if we remain (which may happen) without any certainty, or further information. I do not see how a successor can be appointed to an office which can be vacated only by death, and which is not yet known to be so vacated; still less do I comprehend how the office can remain in its present state.

“Next, as to the seat in Parliament, I conceive that for similar reasons it cannot be vacated. The Duke of Marlborough is not aware of the difficulty, and the communication to be made by Lord Francis is an offer of the recommendation to George. I was aware of this through another channel, and I must give some eventual answer. I do not think that I deceive myself when I say that George possesses an understanding of the superior class, together with the happy temper and cool judgment which seemed to be the characteristics of his brother. He has a visible leaning to political subjects, but hitherto he is earnest in following the law, and even under our present anxieties and wretchedness is preparing to go as usual on the 10th of next month upon the Northern Circuit. On the whole I am not sure that I ought to wish him to be in Parliament, and perhaps I am influenced in that doubt by a private foresight, that I shall soon determine to sell my house in town, and in the result to withdraw altogether from public life.

“Your friendship will excuse these details; if you should have the goodness to return my enclosures with a few lines, the packet can be sent by Lady Buckinghamshire, who sets off at five o’clock to-morrow from Hamilton Place to come to us.

“Our kind respects to Lady Grenville.”

Postscript.—“It is an inferior circumstance and unconnected with the points above stated, but to be adverted to at the proper time, that Mr. Eden, from a motive of generosity, had charged himself to pay from the Tellership 600*l.* a year to Mr. Price, Lord Thurlow’s late deputy, until he should be otherwise provided for, and the payments have been regularly made to the 5th of last month inclusively.”

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, February 21. Berkeley Square.—“I much wish for a few minutes’ conversation with you previous to the debate on the King’s message respecting Portugal, and will therefore take my chance of finding you at home at one o’clock to-morrow; unless I should find a line from you to the contrary at Lord Buckinghamshire’s in Hamilton Place, where I intend calling as soon as I come to town.”

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1810, February 25. Eden Farm.—“The Ministers seem to me to be as infatuated in the conduct of their Parliamentary campaign as they were in those of Spain and Holland, but it is a grievous consideration, that all the dearest interests of the Empire should continue to linger, to waste and to perish in the hands of incapable men all hostile to each other, and united in nothing but their adherence to office.

“So far as I can judge, our friends in both Houses are acting with great judgment and ability; but I have doubts whether in either House eventual crimination and punishment are brought into view so fully and decidedly as the nature of the case will amply justify.

“Your division on Thursday was most respectable, and if Lords Sidmouth, Buckinghamshire (and De Dunsterville, I suppose) had not taken a strange line, the majority for Government would have been only 24. That half-faced concurrence of Lord Sidmouth is ‘temper,’ and not any coquetry with Windsor. He cannot bear the idea of measures being apparently not communicated to him *before* they are finally adopted. I was able repeatedly last year to obviate that difficulty. I conceive that in your next trial of strength you will have nearly 100, and the Ministers not more than 120. Exclusively of the sins of Walcheren, Spain, Portugal and America, it is a most unprincipled and dishonourable conduct to retain situations when the confidence of the country and of Parliament is evidently not possessed.

“There is in Cobbet’s paper of last night a discussion of the medical part of the Walcheren enquiry, written with acuteness and great force of argument. The advice to hold Walcheren under all the circumstances of the moment, and when the sickness and mortality were beyond example, would alone make a strong article of impeachment.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1810, February 25. Eden Farm.]—“I had written to you this morning on different matters and had sent my letter to the post.

“We have since received the sad confirmation of our calamity in a manner which aggravates our afflictions, though we had made up our minds to the worst. The body was found this morning floating off Milbanke, with the watch,

money, notes, and no trace whatever in other respects of the nature of the result, or how it had been occasioned.

“God’s will be done—Lady Auckland and I can only submit.”

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO THE SAME.

[1810,] February 25. Stowe.—“I should agree with you that the division of Friday night ought to put an end to any Government formed on old principles or under common circumstances, but I still abide by my text, namely, that there is not a proper feeling in the House of Commons or in the House of Lords to force the feelings of ‘our good old King’ whenever he thinks proper to play that game which no one knows better how to play than he does. Lord Chatham must, I think, be ruined by his *double-dealing*, for I have no doubt but that the paper in question was delivered in October and re-dated to February 14th for the purpose of avoiding to the King the dilemma of having withheld such a paper after promising to Parliament to lay before them the necessary papers respecting Walcheren. Nothing but a direct falsehood can now keep back that fact, and I agree with you that this part of the story will pinch at Windsor more severely than any other part of the transaction.

“It is impossible not to comment on the extreme incapacity of those who could hope that a course so very shallow could finally escape detection, but I still think that the decided resolution of the King to retain them in office (even though they should be censured for the Scheldt expedition) will finally secure to them the support of the House of Commons until some violent explosion shall work upon their fears so as to drive them from their stations.

“It will then indeed be too late for you or anyone else to repair the mischief of every sort that has arisen out of the occurrences of the last three years.”

Private. LORD AUCKLAND TO THE SAME.

[1810, February 27.] Eden Farm.—“The Cambridgeshire election brought several expresses to this place yesterday evening, and one from Lord Hardwicke. His letter to Lord Francis is honourable, frank and friendly, maintaining his objections to the present Ministers, admitting explicitly that the conjuncture is most favourable to any opponent to Mr. Yorke, and offering in the kindest expressions his support to Lord Francis in case Mr. Yorke on consideration should withdraw from any contest. He further desired to see Lord Francis as soon as convenient, and they are to meet at eleven o’clock to-day. It is possible that at this meeting Lord Hardwicke may announce that Mr. Yorke is determined to stand, or may beg Lord Francis to suspend taking any part till the county meeting on Friday next. (The election is fixed for the Friday following.) If Lord Hardwicke should make that proposition and succeed in it, I do not believe

that Lord Francis will eventually stand. He is, however, decidedly of opinion that being resident in the county, and with considerable interests, he would certainly be chosen. But the whole undertaking is apparently dreaded by him, and Lady Francis is earnestly adverse to it. I received also by express yesterday evening a very handsome letter from Mr. Burrell, which seemed to imply an offer to withdraw if Lord Francis would stand. I answered that Lord Francis would be glad to see him to-day at three o'clock, and so they must settle it among them. It is desirable certainly to eject Mr. Yorke in every public point of view, but I doubt whether it will be well managed to that effect.

“Mr. Blackstone writes to me: ‘Henley Eden yesterday canvassed all the voters here, and received the readiest promises for Mr. George Eden, even from those who have hitherto been hostile, and with a cordiality and sympathy highly creditable to the place. The election to be on Saturday.’

Confidential.—“George yesterday saw Lord Francis Spencer, and found him very friendly, and I think that they are likely to be on the same line of public conduct. Lord Francis has withdrawn all support from the present Ministers, and is of opinion that they ought not continue; and I understand that several others, who will not yet vote against them, have given a similar intimation.”

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1810, March 1.] Palace Yard.—“I incline to a wish that Lord Francis Osborne had not engaged in this Cambridge contest, because I fear that it may entangle him in an endless detail of troubles and expense, and also because it gives anxieties and hurry to Lady Francis, whose health is not good. But as the experiment is to be made, I hope and trust that all our friends will use all their energy, and that our Cambridge Committee will be as efficient as our Oxford Committee of famous memory. You can do much in your extensive connections through Braybrookes, Carysforts, Grosvenors, Bedfords. By the bye, I think it probable that the Bishop of Lincoln may have some interest among the freholders. I wrote to-day most earnestly to the Bishop of Ely, but not with very sanguine hopes of assistance from him. Lord Francis in his letters to me expresses confident hopes of success; and indeed I shall not be surprised if Mr. Yorke should decline the poll; I think that it would be prudent for him to do so; and then most desirable for the permanent interest of our friend Lord Hardwicke, that he should openly give to Lord Francis the support which he is personally disposed to give.

“The Ministers seem to be in a debilitated and debased state, and in my opinion to be constitutionally criminal in hanging to the wreck of their responsibility in a conjuncture when the essential interests of the country call for a strong

Government. Surely that consideration is not sufficiently urged. We seem not to act quite consistently in considering (which we justly do) that Spain and Portugal are lost, and yet in suffering reinforcements to embark, with a certain waste of human life."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1810, March 2. Eden Farm.—"I was not surprised at the nomination of Mr. York [Yorke]; a more generous (if I may not call it a more just) line of conduct would really have embarrassed me. However handsomely the proposition might have been stated under all the circumstances by a Minister feeling as you or I should have felt, if I had been in Mr. Perceval's situation and he in mine, I really do not know how I could have reconciled it to myself to receive favours from men, of whom in their public life I have long formed and avowed opinions the reverse of whatever is respectful and friendly.

"But I was indeed surprised at, and never can forgive, the brutal and indecent precipitation with which the office was given away even before the body of my loved and respected son was recognised; and still more will the grossness of moving the writ at the moment of bringing the corpse into Palace Yard. I had given credit to Mr. Perceval, and to Mr. York too, for qualities which would have prevented so indelicate a conduct.

Private.—"I communicated to you some time ago a letter which mentioned 'the strong and warm phrases of Lord Wellesley as to the propriety of continuing the office to the person to whom personally it had originally been given.' Would you believe that having expressed those sentiments, he wrote to the Duke of Marlborough a letter for the purpose of obtaining the Woodstock seat for Richard Wellesley? I have reason to believe the fact was so; his lordship knew little of the Duke. George was proposed for Woodstock on Wednesday last, and the Duke sent for Henley Eden from Christ Church to go through the canvass. The election will not be till this day se'nnight.

"I enclose a letter written by George on Tuesday to Mr. Yorke, and Mr. Yorke's answer. I knew nothing of the letter till after it was written. It was at the impulse of the moment on his arrival in town to attend the funeral, when he learnt Yorke's appointment. The letter appears to me to have been perfectly proper. Have the goodness at any time to send these papers back.

"I see that my proxy was not given on the Reversion Bill; if Lord Carrington vacated it, I will send another.

"Our sense of affliction does not diminish by the lapse of hours and days; but we shall settle into a tacit acquiescence."

Private. THE SAME to THE SAME.

1810, March 5. Eden Farm.—"The enclosed, which is made ostensible for Lord Holland and Burrell, contains plainly

and in truth the whole of what I have to say. I am mainly ignorant respecting Cambridgeshire politics. If I had any influence there, which I have not, I should be most sorry to see a competition between my son-in-law, and the son of my friend Lord Gwydir. I am therefore not sorry to refer the points to be settled between them. My belief is that if Lord Hardwick[Hardwicke], disapproving his brother's Parliamentary conduct, would either desire him to withdraw from the county on this occasion, or support Lord Francis, that the latter, having a considerable support from the independent interest, would decidedly stand. I also think that if Lord Hardwicke should merely refuse to give an active support to his brother, that Lord Francis in that case would probably offer himself and would beat Yorke out of the field ; but I should conjecture that Lord Hardwicke, from an idea of preserving the family interest for Lord Royston, will do what he can to keep Mr. Yorke in possession of the seat. In the meantime I shall be curious to know how Lord Chatham gets out of his entanglement. His evidence is that of a man who has lost to-day the entire recollection of what he said yesterday, and wanders consequently into inconsistencies and incorrectnesses in points of fact. His worthy colleagues clearly wish to put all their sins on his back, and to send him into the wilderness with their maledictions. If there be any sense or spirit left in the country, they will fail in that speculation."

LORD AUCKLAND TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, March 9. Eden Farm.—"I think it highly probable that the remaining Ministers fight on their stumps from the idea that such a perseverance may in some degree cover the disgraces and punishment due to the criminal follies of their two campaigns ; but I am not sure that they are not weak and presumptuous in this as in other matters. Their pertinacity will sharpen the attack, and the shabbiness of men under such circumstances is such that there will soon be numerous desertions from a force supposed to be routed. In the meantime it comes to me, from no bad authority, that the language at Windsor Castle indicates an extreme desire to avoid at all risks any change.

"It is wonderful that the public sense is so little awakened to the mischievous and perilous consequences of such a system.

"It is not immaterial that you should advert to the expressions in Buonaparte's last State papers on the Orders in Council. He restricts his objections to the orders of November specifically and repeatedly ; and rejects the Chancellor's quibbling nonsense about the 7th January.

"I think it very material that your friendly explanation with Lord Hardwicke should take place without delay. Lord Francis's prospects of success are good, and it should be Lord Hardwicke's family policy to take part in that success ; and, in other views, the defeat of Yorke is a material

point. I believe that the Duke of Rutland declares neutrality, and that the Duke of Grafton is eager for Lord Francis."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1810, March 11. Eden Farm.—"Yours dated the 9th did not arrive here till this morning; we are all thankful for your attentions to the Cambridgeshire contest; having engaged in that battle we are anxious for a victory, and Mr. Yorke certainly merits this little mortification. The last night's advertisement is evidently penned by Lord Francis *in person*. He merely and laconically calls on the freeholders 'to resist the re-election of so strenuous a supporter of the present administration.'

"George Eden was in town yesterday morning, and called with Lady Frances in St. Alban's Street to give some paper to the Cambridgeshire Committee. He found your able and zealous partisan Mr. Goodwin hard at work and confident of success.

"The resistance of our House to the question for hearing the judges was a most impudent profligacy, and I have no doubt was suggested and encouraged by one of the learned Lords who at the same time took credit for voting against it.

"I do not know in any degree what course is to be taken on the Scheldt questions, but it is high time now to move the conclusions. There is a danger of mischief from moving propositions on the expediency, and on the conduct and execution; the detention of the troops at Walcheren, and the consequent wilful waste and murder of 5 or 6,000 men are the points which must for ever depress all the individuals concerned in such a criminal folly; but I have little confidence in the House of Commons, when I see that, after what has happened, they can entrust these same Ministers with a million sterling for the hire of a Portuguese rabble."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1810, March 16. Cleveland Square.—"I was surprised to learn just now from the most indisputable authority that the Duke of Richmond arrived in London last night; as soon as he came he sent to Windsor, and I am told his letter was to say that he was come and was ready to take any situation that the King should think he could be of any use in. I speak from the information of one who has learnt this from a friend of the Duke's, who saw the Duke this morning.

"The messenger went to him at Dublin on Friday night last; so that he must have come off at a moment's warning; this cannot refer to the *Ordnance only*, which could not be so pressing in point of haste.

"It looks to me as if the King had foreseen the probable necessity of change, and had sent for the Duke to have him here ready to take his part in the new drama as soon as it can be got up. If you recollect the Duke of Richmond was mentioned as the successor of the Duke of Portland, as soon as your negative was known.

“Is this intended to remove Percival into the Chancellor’s place, and to let Canning and Yorke try their hands in the House of Commons? But conjecture is wild indeed in times like these.

“I am told that Sir J. Pultney has had a letter from his friends at Weymouth to say that Yorke must not be proposed to them, as they had determined to choose one of their own body if they should be indiscreetly pressed to return Mr. Yorke.

“King called to tell me of your unanimous election at Bristol. I rejoice in it as a fresh testimony of public approbation to you. How grateful it is to see you (at the head of Opposition) carrying off all the honours which the Duke of Portland could only reach by the power of the Crown and the Government.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1810, March 17. Cleveland Square.]—“The report of the Duke of Richmond’s arrival is to-day so positively contradicted, and so absolutely denied at Richmond House, that I know not what to think of it. My informant yesterday assured me that he had not parted from his friend five minutes, and his friend (whom he named to me) said *he had seen the Duke that morning*, and was to dine with the Duke on Friday, which seemed to mean yesterday. I know not what to believe or to disbelieve; I was confidently assured yesterday that Lord G. Leveson being asked by Lady Stafford if he and Canning were coming in, *had not denied it*; but I have just met Lord G. Leveson at Holland’s, where he said that he had answered Lady Stafford that the question was the first that he had heard of it.

“At Carlton House they talk confidently of a new list of Government, as follows:—

Lord Wellesley, Treasury.

Huskisson, Chancellor of Exchequer.

Canning, Foreign Seals and lead in the House.

Yorke (re-elected for Westbury), Home Seals.

Lord G. Leveson, War Seals.

Perceval, a peerage and Duchy of Lancaster.

These are the speculations of the day.

“Tarleton and several others are said to be abolished as Home Staff, but that the King insists on retaining Lord Heathfield and Duke of Cambridge; and it is thought this last proposition of removing Lord Heathfield and Duke of Cambridge may nevertheless be moved and carried in the House of Commons.

“I found Whitbread at Lord Holland’s, who talked very accommodating language about the resolutions, but hoped that they would express the true opinion without being pared down to try to catch votes; a sentiment in which I most sincerely concur with him. They talk of two resolutions instead of four.

“The report of Marshal Duroc being come seems unfounded. Sir G. Rupert says that the flag of truce is come only to propose to exchange our surgeons taken by the French after Talavera, for the French surgeons taken by us at Flushing.”

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1810, March 23. Eden Farm.—“I this moment receive yours, and answer it hastily ; Mr. Hatsell having arrived at the same time and being likely to stay till after the departure of our post.

“It often happens that when more reasons than one are assigned for any step in life, it is a fair inference that each reason so assigned is insufficient. I do not think, however, that this is the case with respect to the decision of my son George Eden not yet to take his seat. In good sense, in public system, from a just attachment to you, and every motive that can influence his mind, he is as eager as possible to drive away the present wretched and mischievous Government. But his first feeling when the offer (*Luctuosa Hereditas !*) of his brother’s seat was offered to him was repugnant to the idea of taking his seat very soon. They had lived together with the unlimited affection which subsists among us all ; and the circumstances are peculiarly such as to require time not merely from delicacy, but in sense and substance. Another reason would have strongly influenced him ; it is the anxious wish of his sister, Mrs. Vansittart (who has again been ill enough to keep us in great uneasiness), that he should go for a few days to Torquay. Perhaps that might have been postponed a little ; it would have been hard, however. It also seemed at least right that he should make his first visit to the good Duke at Blenheim. He accordingly went on Wednesday to the Dean of Christ Church, and yesterday to Blenheim, meaning as soon as he shall have done what is right there and at Woodstock to proceed early in next week to Torquay.

“I have not touched on another consideration. He came into Woodstock, as you know, without any explanation whatever, and his mind is of that turn that he would not feel justified to himself if he were to take abruptly and without any previous communication any line decidedly adverse to the interest to which he owes so much. Lord Francis undertook to meet him at Blenheim and to stay there with him ; and as R. H. Dashwood will do the same, perhaps, in this very subordinate object of consideration, we have no reason to be dissatisfied. I write so fast, and subject to such interruptions, that I do not know that I write intelligibly.

“As to the probable results of next week, it can hardly, I think, be doubted that the Ministers will be so pointedly criminated as to compel them to quit stations which they ought never to have filled ; but they will try every desperate resource to cover their retreat ; and if the detention of the troops at Walcheren shall be the only point criminated, Canning will

be considered as whitewashed, and will be set up with Lord Wellesley.

“The policy surely was highly censurable, but the whole execution of the business was also censurable, in all its parts, and that would involve Canning.

“The difficulties which will open upon you are great, but I think that you could cope with these, and probably with effects more beneficial and immediate.”

Private. LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1810, March 24.] Eden Farm.—“I have a letter to-day from George Eden, in which there is the following paragraph : ‘I have not had time for much conversation, but Lord Francis told me last night that he had heard from you ; that he could not go up to the debate ; but that if he had attended he would have voted entirely with Opposition, except on any question which might personally attack Lord Chatham. His real wish is that Ministers may be beaten ; but he still has habits of friendship towards Canning.’

“I have replied to this, and I should not be much surprised if George should after all determine to take his seat, before the question of crimination on the Walcheren debate.

“I have a very private letter from Lord Buckinghamshire this morning, in which he says ‘the Ministers will be beaten on the second question, and there must be a change, which *I think* will throw the Government to Lord Grenville. Still it is evident that intrigues are on foot to bring Canning forward again ; and Lord Melville at the India Committee shows an alertness far beyond what I have seen since he left the Bar at Westminster Hall.

“‘With respect to us, *the Sidmouths*, we really know nothing ; but it will be the fault of those who draw the Walcheren resolutions if we do not support them.’

“I write this note chiefly to draw your attention to the last paragraph, and Mr. Sullivan, who has just called, shall carry my letter to town. It appears to me a reasonable expectation of the Sidmouths to be concerted with on a question of crimination, and the difference if they are not consulted may be material.”

5 o'clock.—“I wrote to you two hours ago, and sent my note by Lady Buckinghamshire, who came to us this morning with Mr. Sullivan. I then adverted to the probability of what you have reason to think is near at hand. I am fully aware of all the difficulties which will press on you, *but which will not overwhelm you*. They are most weighty and most numerous in every consideration both of the external and internal interests and passions which are afloat not merely at home, or in Europe, but in every quarter of the globe. I trust nevertheless that your judgment and energies would be rapidly successful in undoing much of what has been done, and in trying on a new and great scale much which has not been thought of.

“This probable change of things affects, just at the moment, my feelings and recollections, deeply and very painfully. We are, however, settled in a calm and tacit submission; and if Lady Grenville should find it quite convenient to accompany you, her visit would be most acceptable to Lady Auckland. And if we hear nothing to the contrary, I will at any rate expect to see you here between one and two o’clock on Monday.

“If, however (which is very likely), the interruptions to you should be such as to make it more convenient that I should go to Camelford House, do not hesitate to tell me so, and to fix the hour. I have not yet had occasion to go into Westminster, but I must learn to go there at last.”

Confidential. THE SAME to THE SAME.

1810, March 26.—“It is highly probable (and certainly will best contribute both to health of body and to peace of mind) that we shall pass the ensuing summer and its successors in the respective retreats of Boconnoc and of this place. Still in the actual state of things it is right to look forwards to a very different result; and my thoughts are accordingly occupied by the subjects discussed this morning.

“1. The plain, simple, and very short proposition to Napoleon would evidently be a wise measure; and, being made by a new and strong Government, would, I think, be successful. The only doubt is with regard to the mode of bringing it forwards to the best advantage. Means for a direct overture may be found. But at the worst, it might be announced even in Parliament either in the form of a message, or by some Ministerial declaration; and this mode would have the advantage of engaging and pre-occupying the general sense of the cou[ntry], and it would be respectably consistent with all you have said, and also with a due anxiety . . . [*page torn*] . . . to lessen the pressure of expense and of taxes to . . . [*torn*] . . . well understood through the country, that we have no rational hope of Continental conquests, nor any rational fear of insular loss; and that under such circumstances it is glaringly our interest as well as that of the enemy to be disposed to honourable pacification. In short I have almost persuaded myself that a prompt and public avowal of this would be the best plan.

“2. The next consideration in point of importance is the eventual system of finance. I think, on the best perusal that I have been yet able to give to your minute, that a great practicable measure may be worked out of it, but great care must be taken to maintain both a real and apparent consistency with your finance plan of 1807. I will return the paper on Thursday at half-past 1, and hope that Mr. Tierney will not fail to come at 2.

“3. We next come to arrangements. On examining the lists, the names, and pretensions, [*corner of page torn off*] not believe that you will have any essential . . . [*torn*] . . . es

as to the higher appointments, and . . . a Cabinet of acknowledged weight and great ability. I imply, however, in this conclusion that Mr. Wh[itbread] will be induced to co-operate. Mr. Wi[ndham] will, I apprehend, decline ; and in that event you probably will find that Lord Lansdown would do well for the Home Department.

“As to that part of the arrangement which may be personal, I really am disposed to sacrifice all my time and to risk any trouble, as far as may be consistent with the avoidance of utter ruin to circumstances already embarrassed by the recent loss of 3,000*l.* a year. It occurs to me that it may best suit your wish and service, and also effectuate the means which are necessary, if we connected the Post Office with the India Board, giving up at the same time 2,300*l.* a year to the public.

“The acquisition of income in the balance would be about 2,000*l.* a year ; certainly a most moderate compensation for giving up the latter autumn of my life to a laborious, difficult, and most important duty. This would leave the Pres[ident] of the Committee of Trade open for Lord Lauderdale in addition to his 4,000*l.* a year from the Scotch Office.

“All this, however, is in the law . . . [*torn page*] . . . ‘*De bene esse*’ ; and it will not surprise [me] if the King should act most handsomely under the impression that it is, at last, his interest to have and to hold up a strong Government ; and in that hope I incline to believe that one or both of the family points which you adverted to might be carried ; at least that a conciliatory language on your part would bring a gracious answer, tending to do what is wished, though not at the moment.”

Private. LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, April 5. Eden Farm.—“I have been (and am likely to be) too little in the busy world to form a good judgment respecting the probable temper and tendencies of Parliament in the further course of debates. Still I receive many kind visits and communications ; and what I have to say is not entirely ‘*Vox clamantis in deserto*.’

“I wish then to suggest and to submit to you and to Lord Grey that it may be desirable to give notice in both Houses of a motion to be made after the Easter recess, that his Majesty’s Ministers have not the confidence of Parliament. Such a motion ought in consistency to have the full support of the ‘249’ ; and it would not be so easy to bring ‘the 290’ again into the field. In the meantime the too probable results in Spain and Portugal may be favourable to the proposition. The notice would be an essential encouragement to our friends. It is bad generalship to leave an army in a state of inactivity after a great and unexpected check. Our motion would be well made by Mr. Whitbread in the one House, and by Lord Lansdowne or Lord Stafford or Lord Hardwicke in the other.”

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO THE SAME.

[1810, April 8. Pall Mall.]—"I have seen the High Constable, who has personally been in attendance on the Sergeant and Deputy Sergeant ever since the vote, and has been employed in various ways to assist (sometimes with constables and sometimes without them) in taking Sir Francis Burdett. He likewise received orders from Mr. Beckett to collect all his *constables to keep the peace* last night, and this morning his numbers were of course very few, and the Sheriffs this morning directed him to take orders only from them, and not from the magistrates; but he told them that he was in attendance on the Sergeant-at-Arms for the purpose of assisting in executing the Speaker's warrant, and could not leave him. The Deputy is at the Gloucester Coffee House with a force of police officers, and persons are posted to give notice of Burdett's appearance, in which case they are to take him; and the High Constable thinks that there will not be any great difficulty in securing him, and that it may certainly be done in this night or early to-morrow morning. But the mismanagement of all the plans is most piteous. Both Sheriffs have spoken with violence to the officers commanding the military, and have repeatedly ordered them to quit the streets, and to take no orders from the magistrates.

"He thinks the mob very determined on mischief, and irritated most violently with the troops, and thinks there will be mischief to-night, if they can see the means of annoying the troops; and thinks the number at present rather too weak for the numerous duties.

"The number of constables with their staves on duty last night and this morning were about 40 out of 78, the effective number; the others were too fatigued, having (like him) not been in bed since Thursday morning.

"It was too late for me to send this to you. I have, therefore, ordered it to be given to you early to-morrow morning.

"The streets were cleared about 12, after a very vigorous attempt made by the mob to barricade Piccadilly against the cavalry by the materials of two houses that were half rebuilt. The infantry forced it; none were killed on either side, but four of the barricaders are taken.

"The Sheriffs went home early.

"The messengers and others remain, and hope to take Sir Francis in the course of the night, as he does not sleep at home."

LORD AUCKLAND TO THE SAME.

1810, April 12. Eden Farm.—"I send the inclosed because I presume that what is said of the immense arrear of taxes is in general correct, and from good information. I had no notion that the amount was so great. Credit will probably be taken for a part of it in the Budget, and the surplus of the

Consolidated Fund may be taken at $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions, not unfairly. In the last four quarters it amounted to 7 millions. In the result of the late scandalous riots, imprudently caused, and tardily suppressed, it appears that the Ministers will be rather mended than marred in their position. Every man who has anything in the world that he values is disposed to support executive government against tumult; and certainly Sir Francis Burdett shewed himself disposed to push his resistance to the very verge of rebellion. Still I do not consider the Ministry as being in truth raised in the public opinion; on the contrary, I am convinced that there exists a general conviction of their [in]capacity. Mr. Whitbread seems to lead with ability and judgment; but I know nothing except what I collect from the newspapers."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1810, April 20-23. Cleveland Square.]—"The *Times* of to-day will show you a more correct account of Waithman's dinner than the *Morning Chronicle* has thought it prudent to insert. You will see how entirely Whitbread has sworn allegiance to Wardle, Waithman, and Burdett and Company. I expected no less from hearing that two days before he had made a dinner at his own house for Waithman, to which he invited Holland and several others. What you will think of this in the country, I do not know, but all those whom I have seen to-day in town are equally struck with the absolute necessity of our protesting against that good fellowship and concurrence in opinion with Wardle, Waithman, and Burdett, which Whitbread has for his own part so ostentatiously displayed. Lord Grey, Lauderdale, Sir A. Pigott, Morpeth, and Tierney all concur in opinion that it is utterly impossible to go on with Whitbread upon these terms; Lord Grey says that he had rather support any Ministers than do so, and Tierney is talking of making his farewell speech to Parliament; the evil is quite incurable. It is manifest that the vanity of shining at a popular dinner, and the love of being toasted and drank to with applause at the *Crown and Anchor* is and will be the ruling passion with Whitbread, and that all consideration for other men and other opinions vanishes before this governing principle in the mind of Whitbread. To act in unison with him while he professes so much uniformity of opinion with Burdett and Wardle, who are the heroes of his praise, appears to me to be a disgrace which I should be very sorry to see incurred by any friends of mine; to Ossulston and Crecvey they are heartily welcome; nothing could be so bad as the inflammable language these two held in the House on Wednesday about the coroner's inquest, in which too they were most cordially supported by Whitbread. I think, after all that has now passed, you will [feel] it quite a pressing duty no longer to allow the appearance of unity of political sentiment between you and Whitbread."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1810, April 23-25. Cleveland Square.]—"Sir A. Pigot and Lord Milton have called here to talk over Whitbread's oration. I have also seen Ponsonby, who seems quite aware of the necessity of our disclaiming this new adoration at the shrine of Waithman and Wardle ; Sir Arthur has agreed with Ponsonby to have a *select* meeting at the end of next week to settle what is to be done in this respect. Ponsonby expects to see you shortly ; pray keep him in good heart to fight this necessary fight."

THOMAS MOORE to THE SAME.

1810, April 23. Molesworth Street, Dublin.—"Though I have not the honour of being known to your lordship, yet presuming, as I do, that even the humblest effort towards correcting the present infatuation of my Roman Catholic countrymen, and endeavouring to bring them back to the ground which they have lost, must be acceptable to one so much interested in their behalf as your lordship, I take the liberty of enclosing a little pamphlet on the subject, which my friend Sir C. Saxton has kindly undertaken to forward for me."

EARL GREY to THE SAME.

1810, April 26. Woburn Abbey.—"I received your letter here yesterday, together with the copy of that which in consequence of what passed at the late dinner of the Livery, you have written to Whitbread.

"I cannot give you a stronger proof of my opinion of the propriety of the step you have taken, than by telling you that, in my way hither, in conversing with Tierney, who accompanied me, on this subject, I expressed to him my wish that you might be induced to adopt a measure of this nature. The same reasons which influenced you, in not making any previous communication to me, prevented my expressing this opinion to you sooner ; and I cannot help saying how much I feel obliged to you for the kind attention you have shown in this, as in other instances, to the peculiar circumstances in which I am placed.

"To the Duke of Bedford, to Lord Lansdowne, who is also here, and to Tierney I have communicated your letter, and I am authorised to express the entire concurrence of them all in the sentiments you have expressed both on what has already passed, and on the necessity of something being done on our part to counteract its mischief. Tierney indeed is in one of his fits of flat despair, sees nothing before him but the disagreeable scenes which must take place in the House of Commons, and looks to no remedy but withdrawing himself from them. In this feeling perhaps I may not differ from him very much ; seeing no possibility of doing any

good, and feeling necessarily in a superior degree all the painful consequences of Whitbread's conduct.

"But whatever we may ultimately resolve upon, whether to persevere in a regular opposition, reduced in numbers, and standing between two parties to whose views, in opposite ways, we are equally hostile, or to withdraw ourselves from a very constant and regular attendance in Parliament, it appears to me to be equally necessary, considering what we owe both to the country and to our own characters, that we should mark by some distinct and intelligible measure the principles on which we act.

"I had already been turning this matter in my mind when I received your letter, and I think there are objections to making such a declaration as you propose either incidentally in a debate on some other subject, or by signing a paper. The first is necessarily transient, and liable both to misapprehension and misrepresentation. The last is not liable to these objections, but it is difficult to get people together for such a purpose, and many who would concur with us in a vote in Parliament would feel a great repugnance to pledging themselves by a formal subscription. Besides that in this mode the declaration would, perhaps necessarily, be confined to one object.

"Now I should be equally anxious to mark the line of distinction between us and the Ministers on the one hand, and those who are urging these popular questions in such pernicious modes and to so mischievous an extent, on the other. It had occurred to me, therefore, that the best mode of doing this would be to move an Address to the King containing a general statement of the circumstances which menace the safety of the country, in which all these topics might be introduced ; this being done in both Houses would mark clearly to the country, in a way that ought to be above suspicion, the principles of our conduct, and would at the same time show the number and character of those on whom, acting on these principles, we could depend for support.

"Should this plan appear to be advisable, such a motion would naturally come after the other great questions, such as the Spanish and Catholic questions, shall have been disposed of, and would, I think, form a satisfactory winding up of the Session. Such an Address, if you approve of it, and do not think it would be more proper for you to do it yourself, I should have no objection to move. In drawing it up much care and attention will be required, and for this we must necessarily rely chiefly on you.

"I shall be in town to-morrow, and though I feel all the unwillingness of a person who loves the fresh air and enjoys the country in this fine season, to urge another to involve himself in 'the smoke and stir of that dim spot,' yet I cannot help expressing a wish that, with this feeling and important matter to settle, you may not continue your holidays much longer."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, April 30. Cleveland Square.—“ I return you the letter which I have shown to Lord Grey ; he thinks of it exactly as you and I do ; he considers it as offering no ground which ought to vary our resolution of protesting against the doctrines preached at Waithman’s dinner, and he entirely approves of the heads which you have suggested for the Address, with the addition, however, of the Catholic topic, which ought not undoubtedly to be overlooked in an Address of so comprehensive a description. He thinks no time should be lost in giving notice of this motion, and he would propose to give it on Monday next if he can depend upon your being present in the House on that day. He will write to you himself to-morrow. He has great doubts upon the propriety of our bringing forward any active measures of reform in the present moment, not only from his dislike of Curwen’s Bill, but from his distrust of the present Government, and from his belief that they are quite incapable of supporting as they ought any measure which is entitled to their concurrence ; his wish seems to be to watch the acts of Government rather than to originate any measures of our own. His mind is much shaken by this incurable perversity of Whitbread, which removes all hopes from his mind of what he had hoped might have been brought about ; and with the insurmountable difficulties that occur to him in the instances of Canning and Whitbread, he knows not what hopes to teach himself to entertain. The case of the House of Commons in regard to the question of privilege has likewise taken a very unfavourable aspect ; for Adam has told him to-day that he is persuaded that Lord Ellenborough and the Judges of the King’s Bench will agree in maintaining the jurisdiction of their Court ; and, if they do so, how can one hope that the flimsy and childish Government of this hour will have either the nerves, disposition, or means to support the House of Commons against the legal authority of Westminster Hall, as well as against the popular clamour of Palace Yard ? How then is the House of Commons to avoid this new state of subjection to the Court of King’s Bench, and what will this new condition be if it cannot be avoided ? Much as I despair of the present Government, and ruinous as it perhaps will be to fight that cause under the incapable hands which must lead the battle, I still think it must be fought, for defeat cannot be more ruinous than such submission.

“ The picture is more frightful than I have yet seen it, but still I think the House must do its duty, and maintain its independence. I believe Yorke *is* appointed to the Admiralty.”

EARL GREY to THE SAME.

1810, May 1. Portman Square.—“ Except in its amicable tone and in the deference he shows to your opinions, which

sooner or later I will still hope may bring him right, I am sorry to confess that I see nothing very satisfactory in Whitbread's answer to your letter. The necessity of some proceeding to mark our line of conduct clearly to the public remains undiminished ; on the contrary, it is much increased by the progress which false principles are making in the country, and I am extremely happy that we agree so entirely in the mode in which this object appears most likely to be advantageously effected.

"To the heads stated in the sketch of the Address which you sent me, I see the necessity of adding nothing except one on the Catholic question. This might, perhaps, come in under the 6th head, which states the necessity of conciliating all classes of the community ; but, as expressed in your paper, it seemed to look to conciliation by political and financial reform, and that to be effected by a complete toleration ought, I think, to form a head by itself. I return your paper that you may work in it before you come to town ; which I see no necessity for pressing you to do sooner than you intended.

"It certainly would be desirable to move the proposed Address as soon as possible ; but such a measure must necessarily require a good deal of previous consideration ; and it would appear to be somewhat premature if brought on before the Catholic and Spanish questions. Perhaps a part of the disadvantage of delay might be obviated by a short statement in giving the notice, which might indicate our motives in taking the measure, and the object to which it is directed. You do not say in your letter whether you wish to bring it on yourself or to place it in my hands ; if the latter, your presence will, I think, be desirable when the notice is given, which should not be delayed beyond Monday.

"I have great fears for the result of the question to be discussed in the Court of King's Bench on the Speaker's warrant. Your brother will probably have told you that Adam is apprehensive of a decision of the Court against them, if they plead to the jurisdiction, and any other proceeding will, I fear, effectually compromise the privileges of the House of Commons. Yet, if there should be such a decision, I am sure the House of Commons is in no condition, especially under its present leaders, to fight the battle which will be then to be fought against the united authority of the Court of King's Bench, and the opinion of the public.

"I have great doubts as to the expediency of both the Bills which you have suggested ; I think the advantage of them, even if we could carry them in our own way, extremely questionable ; and we must not overlook the probability of any measure we may propose, on this or any other subject, being taken out of our hands, and its character and efficiency completely changed by the alterations which may be prepared by the Ministers. This happened to Curwen's Bill last year,

which, even in its original state, I thought a very bad one ; and in a similar case we should incur all the odium to which such a measure might be liable, without attaining the objects which we might have proposed to ourselves to effect by it. In short under an administration on whose direction or whose firmness no reliance can be placed, I am clearly of opinion that the best thing we can do is to express our opinions on such measures as they may propose, to explain clearly our own views, but not to bring forward ourselves anything which we have not the means of supporting and executing.

“ Charles Wynne seems to have taken a great deal of pains on the question of privilege, and your brother expressed a wish that he would publish upon it, in which I heartily concur. If he should be prevailed upon to do so, might it not be done most advantageously, with a view to general circulation, in the *Edinburgh Review*.”

Postscript.—“ I am afraid you will find Lord Fitzwilliam extremely adverse to any allusion to Parliamentary reform. George Ponsonby has just been here, and tells me that they are marching the troops back again, and in larger numbers, to London, and that they have promised additional pay during their stay here to the subalterns and men : to the subalterns 5*s.* *per diem* additional, and to the dragoons 9*d.* Is this to support the appointment of Yorke to the Admiralty ? ”

LORD AUCKLAND TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, May 2. Eden Farm.—“ I suppose that you are now re-settled in Camelford House. I did not write to you at Dropmore. I was unwilling to throw a transient gloom into your sunshine. In truth our spirits are not yet mended by the lapse of time. At first we were stunned ; we now begin to think and to talk about our calamity. This is the regular process, and our recollections must gradually wear themselves into weakness by repetition.

“ Our accounts from Torquay have been very alarming, and we were setting off for that place when we heard from Mr. Vansittart that our appearance there might have a dangerous effect. George Eden, who went five weeks ago, has remained with his sister. He is now gone to Lord Ilchester's. She is now better, and talks of being able to pass the summer in this place. I greatly doubt it.

“ I have adverted little to public matters. So far as I can judge from superficial information, the Ministers mean both in their measures and arrangements to disregard the public feelings, and the Walcheren vote justifies such counsels and such conduct. I persist in thinking that the Spanish and Portuguese businesses will severally end in further losses and disgraces ; and that opinion will not be shaken even if I should hear the Tower guns firing for some victory, real or pretended. I see by the papers presented to Parliament

that the waste of British lives in Portugal has been very great.

“I wish to draw your attention for a moment to a circumstance which in a pecuniary sense would be not uninteresting to me and to many dependent on me, if in these wrong times it should take a right turn. About ten days ago Mr. Perceval wrote to Lord Glenbervie to prepare a clause to extend the exoneration of small livings, introduced by you and Lord Henry Petty in 1806, and since continued to a higher class of livings by subsequent Acts, and completed in regard to about 1,600 livings under our Land Tax Commission. Lord Glenbervie went to him and said that he wished to close our commission as soon as may be without public inconvenience, and that it would rest with Parliament on the various printed reports of our voluminous proceedings during eleven years, to ascertain how far Lord Henry Petty was justified in his notice for our remuneration. Mr. Perceval (by Lord Glenbervie’s report to me) admitted the right, in vague and general terms, and on Monday last we received an official letter from Mr. Harrison desiring us to lay before the Treasury ‘a statement of our proceedings during the whole period that we have acted.’ I shall hold a Board to-morrow to prepare such a statement; and we mean nearly to copy the report which we gave to your Treasury, with the additions which four years have made to it. I believe that, acting under ten or eleven different Acts of Parliament extending our powers and imposing new duties upon us, we have accomplished the sale of mortmain property the value of which in fee simple is above three millions sterling; that we have sanctioned about 2,400 sales; and that we have executed above 5,000 conveyances for the accuracy of which we are responsible, and to which we and our representatives must remain parties, and all this with a gain of about 150,000*l.* to the public.

“Mr. Perceval, in the strictest justice, and without any idea of favour to us, ought to lay our statement before Parliament. It remains to be seen whether he will do so, or whether he will propose what we should think adequate. Mr. Harrison, however, who knows best the nature of the claim (having been our counsel six years), assures Lord Glenbervie that there cannot be a doubt respecting it; and that *less* than 1,000*l.* a year to each for the period cannot be given.

“If the business should take this course, I am sure that the Speaker (and many others without any communication from me) will most warmly support it. In that case it would be very desirable that some of your friends, Mr. Wynne, Mr. Tierney and others, should be particularly apprized of it, and perhaps you or Lord Lansdowne would take that trouble. It will be desirable in every point of view, as I will not accept anything otherwise than as being fairly due from the public; nor will I take (what has been usual in Parliamentary

commissions) any higher remuneration as standing at the head, and as having acted always as president.

“The Duke of Marlborough has written to us that he is coming to Sion, but that he shall resettle at Blenheim for your installation. We could have wished to go to him at that time, both to mark respect and attachment to the cause and occasion, and to the Chancellor, and also as we had in happier days promised this treat to Mary; but I have some fears that we are not equal to it. When is it to be?”

LORD GRENVILLE to T. TYRWHITT.

1810, May 4. Dropmore.—“I am very sorry that I could not contrive to be in town sooner than Monday, but my arrangements were so made as to render it impossible. If, however, I could have had the pleasure of seeing you before that day, I cannot flatter myself that I could have offered any suggestion that could have been useful. My opinion must in truth have been confined to the expediency of avoiding on the part of the Prince’s immediate friends any participation either way in debates or suggestions on that most delicate of all subjects. Advantage would infallibly be taken against him of whatever could be construed to be done or said by his directions on the subject of the King’s situation, a point in which a total abstinence from all interference in Parliamentary discussion seems to me to be the only safe course which he can pursue. You know that I always speak to you with entire freedom on these subjects, and this is the only advice which I could venture to offer to the Prince himself.” *Copy.*

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, May 4. Cleveland Square.—“Ponsonby has been here this morning to tell me that the Speaker yesterday took occasion to thank him for what he had said of his opinions on the privileges of the House, informed him that he should soon have a communication to make to the House respecting the suit which is commencing against him, and intimated that it might be useful to have a previous meeting of the leaders of both sides in the Speaker’s house, which always was considered as neutral ground. Ponsonby answered that he was ready to communicate with the Speaker in the most frank and unreserved manner, but must decline any private communication with Ministers, and the more so as it appeared to him that their ignorance and timidity made it both useless and unsafe to communicate with them. The Speaker admitted this, and seemed to complain of the little support that Ministers gave him, ‘they being all frightened at the very idea of a contest with a Court of Law.’ Ponsonby thinks the Speaker will make this communication on Monday, and seems very anxious to see you, if it were possible, before that time, though I could give him little or no hope of your

coming sooner. I have urged Ponsonby very much to tell the Speaker plainly to-day how important it is that in his communication to the House on Monday he must not take any notice to them of his having retained counsel, a measure which I cannot but think highly improper, and as I believe perfectly unprecedented. If the Speaker only states to the House the fact of a suit being commenced against him in the Court of King's Bench, I think the House is bound immediately to pass resolutions against all the persons concerned in the prosecution of that suit, and declaring that their privileges are not cognizable in any Court of Law. But if the Speaker tells the House that he has retained counsel, and if the House hears this without disapproving it, they will have abandoned the main question, and will have acquiesced in the notion of making themselves amenable to a Court of Law, by retaining lawyers to plead for their privileges in the Court of King's Bench.

"Ponsonby himself seems in much better heart, and if this weak and timid Government would act like men, and give the cause a fair support, I think Ponsonby is disposed to be a good deal more stout; and indeed he has distinctly told me that upon very laborious attention to and consideration of the subject, he is unalterably persuaded that, be the consequence what it may, the House must crush *in limine* any attempt to discuss the question of their privileges in a Court of Law. He told me he was shocked to find that Lord Erskine had been visiting Burdett in the Tower, and advising him as to the course which he is to pursue, with most clamorous outcries against the *illegality* of all that the House has done and is doing against Burdett. This is really too bad and too foolish even for Lord Erskine, nor can it be wondered at that the rabble of Westminster should be alive to this subject, when they are halloed on to it by our own Lord Chancellor and Solicitor General.

"Pigott has seen Ponsonby, and talks stoutly of supporting him in this question; but Adam tells Ponsonby that he and his two brother lawyers are a good deal embarrassed as to the course which is to be taken, from which I infer that the Ministers have not yet made up their minds; because, if they were ready to do their duty by urging the House to crush the suit *in limine*, the Attorney and Solicitor General and Adam would have nothing left to embarrass them. The truth is that our Ministers being made up of lawyers, they live in the same terror of the Court of King's Bench, which they have contracted by their professional attendance in their gowns and wigs, and the law of Parliament, having as yet had no one advocate to speak for it, is put by in a corner, and is perhaps to be no more heard of till it shall be reformed with the joint assistance of Wardle, Waithman, Burdett, and Cobbett.

"I almost wish it were possible that you could come after church on Sunday, as it seems very desirable that you should

see Ponsonby before this business comes on on Monday. He is in much better heart, but I think half an hour's talk with you would give him more confidence."

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, May 5. Eden Farm.—"I have just received yours of yesterday, and will reply to it by to-morrow's post, and will then return the enclosure. My first and general impression thereon is that such a measure is wise and dignified, and may be most useful; at the same time it is exposed to the misrepresentation of its being a trap for popular favour towards accomplishing the object of place, of power. Such representations must be despised; still, as we have to do with antagonists whose efficiency is to be found only in falsehoods and in calumnies, care must be taken not to afford more hold to them than the substance and sense of the measure may make necessary."

Private. THE SAME to THE SAME.

1810, May 6. Eden Farm.—"I have perused the heads of the intended Address again and again, and with all the attention of mind that I can command. I have no doubt that it is a measure more likely than any other to do public good, and, at all events, that it is well calculated to secure historical justice to the high characters of those who bring it forward. Perhaps even it may awaken the minds of many who are sunk into a dull indifference respecting the character and conduct of Parliament, and who have been taught to believe that we are only struggling for situations, the tenure and responsibilities of which are become such as no wise man would wish to hold, for his own ease, or reputation, or personal interests. There are two other classes, the reformers and the Ministers, on whom such an Address will have no good effect. They will join in decrying it, and in imputing to it motives, which will be current coin with the populace, though bearing the stamp of falsehood and of folly. At the worst, this Address will be the political testament of the Session; and the fatal fondness for weak Governments has brought both the foreign and domestic interests of the country to such hopelessness that we have nothing to do but to 'wash our hands' of the consequences.

"It is indeed wonderful that it should not occur to the King's experience and long hours of reflection that it is morally impossible for Lord Grey and for you and for your friends to assist him under the banners of men whose rashness and weakness are acknowledged by every individual in the kingdom, except by those who voted to approve the Walcheren business: a vote (by the bye) which is at this hour imperceptibly but rapidly working on the public mind to the utter discredit, not merely of Ministers but of the House of Commons.

“I will not attempt to write notes on the enclosed paper ; perhaps I shall be allowed to see a copy of the completed draft, or to read it with you before it shall be finally transcribed.

“In the 3rd head it may be desirable to admit the great productiveness of the revenue, and to state it as encouraging to the plan of a permanent and systematic arrangement adequate to every purpose of national wisdom and national security.

“I conceive that the Address should contain some exhibition of the wickedness and absurdity of the campaigns both in Portugal, and in the Scheldt, and even in the coasts of Naples.

“In the 5th article, it may be right also to admit the actual influx of commerce (at this hour there are above 1,000 foreign vessels, chiefly *Dutch and French*, in the port of London) ; but to enlarge nevertheless on the mischiefs which have resulted from the infatuated principles of the Orders in Council, and from every measure of the last three years connected with commerce, and with circulation, at home and abroad.

“In the 6th head, some expressions are wanting (and they are not easy to be found) beyond a vague and indefinite general declaration.

“Under the 7th head, the most energetic language should be used to expose the tried and acknowledged incapacity of his Majesty’s Government, and all the gigantic evils resulting from that incapacity.

“Would it not be right that Lord Grey, in giving his notice to-morrow, should particularly and pointedly state that it is on your part also, and on the part of your very numerous and very respectable friends. Indeed such a measure cannot be brought forwards with too much preparation and solemnity.”

LORD GRENVILLE to H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES.

1810, May 8. Camelford House.—“I have the honour humbly to acquaint your Royal Highness that I am charged by the University of Oxford to present to your Royal Highness a letter unanimously agreed to in Convocation and engrossed under our common seal, expressive of our dutiful and grateful acknowledgments to your Royal Highness for the high distinction conferred upon us by your Royal Highness’s munificent present of the *Herculaneum* manuscripts.

“I am at the present time charged humbly to offer to your Royal Highness’s gracious acceptance the diploma unanimously agreed to in Convocation and conferring upon your Royal Highness, as the only testimony of respect and gratitude in our power, the degree of Doctor in Civil Law.

“The University have directed that these marks of their duty should be submitted to your Royal Highness by their Chancellor ; and I shall esteem myself highly honoured by

your Royal Highness's permission to attend your Royal Highness for that purpose at any time that may be convenient." *Copy.*

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, May 8. Cleveland Square.—“ I had some conversation yesterday with Ponsonby respecting the question of privilege and the probable danger of the Court of King's Bench maintaining a right of jurisdiction inconsistent with the authority and independence of the House of Commons ; he seems to admit the dangers which are connected with this question, but he admits them reluctantly, argues feebly and coldly upon them, is full of stories of the universal hostility to the House of Commons throughout all England on this subject ; tells you of his belief that the Guards and great part of the army are becoming infected with the popular feelings, and upon the whole appears to have his mind so fully fraught with fears and dangers of every sort, that I have little hope of him in a case where confidence and political courage is so peculiarly necessary to give any chance of success. Even Lord Grey begins to be alarmed at the idea of contending with the popular clamour, sanctioned as it will be by the Judges of Westminster Hall ; and he discourages the notion of our friends incurring the odium of a fruitless contest, and rather recommends to them to watch the acts of Government than to be active themselves.

“ In the general prudence of these generalities I agree, but here is a case where all is at stake ; if the Courts of Law try the privileges of the House of Commons, subject as those Courts are to have their decisions brought by appeal to the House of Lords, there is an end of all respect, authority, and independence to the House of Commons. The Constitution of the country becomes totally changed, and against that change I think it the first duty of every friend to the present Constitution to struggle with heart and hand. I am sorry I cannot say this where it might be more useful.”

CHARLES HENRY HALL, Dean of Christ Church, to
THE SAME.

1810, May 14. Christ Church.—“ As I cannot in his present state request the Bishop of Oxford to speak to your lordship, you must pardon me if I trouble you with a letter, although I am very unwilling to add to the number of those which I know you are receiving on the subject of your installation. I have this instant heard from Dr. Pett that Lady Grenville has changed her plans, and given up the intention of going to St. Mary Hall. Concluding that that plan had been thoroughly settled, and that it would be most agreeable to her ladyship, I have hitherto been silent ; but your lordship

will, I hope, now permit me to offer her apartments in the Deanery. It would be a peculiar gratification to me to have the honour of receiving her. I do not know, indeed, whether I have not a right to claim her on this occasion, and although Mrs. Hall has not yet had the pleasure of being introduced to her, she will be particularly happy if she can in any degree contribute to her comfort or accommodation during a week of confusion and bustle.

“If it should be convenient to your lordship to see me for half an hour at the end of next week, when I must necessarily be in London, I shall be very glad to have an opportunity of mentioning to you some particulars respecting the visit which we hope to have the honour of receiving from you at Christ Church.”

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, May 15. Eden Farm.—“I believe we may consider the Cambridgeshire victory as of a different description from the victories of Douro and Talavera, and more of the Wagram kind. Yorke’s surrender was accompanied by a sort of constructive intimation that some other warrior might come forwards; but I conceive that this was only *brutum fulmen*; *anglice*, ‘a brutal bullying.’

“Lord Francis has managed this well, and the popular temper of Cambridgeshire is probably the popular temper of many other counties in regard to the Ministers and their adherents. I was apprehensive that this bustle might be injurious to Lady Francis Osborn, but I understand that she never was so well, and has been a most active and indefatigable canvasser; and yesterday, when George carried to her from Mr. Goodwin the account of her success, she (in her quiet way) ordered her carriage, and afterwards remarked that she was going to return some morning visits to the Dowager Duchess, the Anguishes, and the Chichesters and Windsors, who had severally lamented the contest, and had wished its failure, because the success might give pain to the good old King.

“It appears to me that your Parliamentary campaign is languishing; still I think it impossible that the Walcheren business should not receive a vote of censure of the severest kind, and even a further prosecution.”

Postscript.—“I have just received yours of yesterday; it appears to have been written before you had learnt Yorke’s retreat. Lord Francis is apprized that he owes much both to you and to Lord Braybrook.

“I have no doubt that both Perceval and Lord Wellesley and the Chancellor will try everything even to desperation to keep their wreck afloat. Lord Wellesley does not yet know that the public opinion respecting him is far from being what he would wish it to be.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1810, June 5.—“I have been able to see nobody and to talk of nothing but poor, dear Windham, whose value is now indeed felt in his loss. I have not yet seen poor Elliot, but Lady Spencer gives me an uncomfortable account of him.

“Not hearing of any arrival destined to Dropmore, I have recommended to Lord and Lady Fortescue to send you down George, who has a little hurt his foot, but who will assist Lady Grenville and you for the present.

“The Duke of Cumberland’s nerves are said to be in a state of singular irritation, and there is some small fear of locked jaw; perhaps, however, these fears are exaggerated.

“Hester and Fortescue are both very averse to Oxford *Encænïa*; I think it a little more doubtful, and if you do not mend fast, I should recommend to put it off now soon. I am sorry to hear the Bishop of Oxford has had another discharge of blood on Sunday night or Monday morning; Vaughan told Lord Fortescue of this at the birthday.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1810, June 6. Cleveland Square.—“Lord Grey adopts all the amendments that you suggested, and thinks the Address much improved by them; he is very impatient to get it over and to go to the North, but wishes some day after Wednesday, the 13th, to ask you how you do, if you are well enough to let him come to you. I have seen the Bishop of London, and have told him that in my opinion there was no chance of your bearing the carriage to London for the proposed election; it seems the archbishop had fixed upon your house in Oxford Street, but upon my suggestion of the impossibility of your attendance, the Bishop of London is to propose to have it at his own house in Saint James’s Square.

“If you will dictate two lines of civility to the archbishop to thank him for his proposed accommodation to you, but to regret the impossibility of your coming up to vote as you had intended for Dr. Kidd, that letter would be an act of courtesy both to the archbishop and to Kidd, who will still be supported by Randolph and Lord Ellenborough, though with little or no chance of success.

“Lady Spencer having told Sir H. Halford my report of the *slow progress* that you make, Sir H. said of his own accord that he would take the first favourable opportunity of calling in his way from Windsor; but that he had already no hesitation in saying that, in his opinion, with the slow improvement that you make, you ought at once to give up all thoughts of the Oxford *Encænïa* for this year. I am glad he will go to you, for he told Grey that, though he has no alarm of any sort about you, he thinks there is illness about you which requires care and attention. Under these circumstances I must repeat that it is my earnest wish that you

would at once write to the Vice Chancellor, and put off the Oxford celebration till next year."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1810,] June 7. Cleveland Square.—"I believe I mentioned to you yesterday that Vaughan himself in conversing with Lady Spencer had expressed a desire to look in upon you again, and that he told Lord Grey that in his opinion, though he thought you quite safe, he still thought there was a good deal of illness about you that would require much attention. By the enclosed note you will see that he will call on Saturday at Dropmore, and will probably express to you yourself his opinion of the expediency of not incurring the risk of the Oxford celebrations this year. Everybody whom I have seen is earnest against these fatigues coming so close upon illness so severe, and I do hope that you will not hesitate to take at once the step of deferring it till next year.

"Lord S[idmouth] told Ellenborough there was no truth in his coming in, but Ellenborough told Lord Grey he thought there had certainly been *approximations*. I believe the books that you enquire about are Arabic, and are therefore in Lord Carysfort's department; I do not know anything of them.

"I hope you will not think of any long letter to Grey, but content yourself with shaking hands with him *after his Address*, at Dropmore.

"I believe I explained to you that [the] Bishop of London has no expectation of any vote for Kidd beyond yours and Lord Ellenborough's; and I have told him that he cannot expect you. Do not, however, forget the few lines I mentioned to the Archbishop of Canterbury; this will be as good a testimony to Kidd as a useless vote from you."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1810, June 9. Cleveland Square.]—"I rejoice to hear that Vaughan's prescriptions have been so successful. Lord Spencer tells me the Ch[arter] House election is fixed for Tuesday next, and I conclude that you will be well enough to come up to it. I have just now left the Archbishop of York, who is very much pleased with his nomination and very anxious for his success; of which I think there is a very reasonable chance; I have just seen him write two letters, one to Dyson to press Lord Sidmouth, and the other to the Bishop of London, strongly urging him upon the score of private friendship; he has great hopes of the success of both these letters, and if you succeed with Lord Chatham, I do really believe it will do, for I think after Vernon's letter it will be very difficult at least for Randolph to do other than to support him. He thinks Lord Melville will not vote against him, and my opinion is that probably he will not vote at all,

and certainly not for Perceval, who I conclude will be the candidate.

"Can you do anything with a line to Lord Henry Fitzroy to ask if the Duke of Grafton will attend? The Duke is in town, and the Duchess told Lady Spencer yesterday that he had not *for years* been as well as he now is.

"As Grey has continued invisible and inaccessible, I suppose he has determined to say nothing for you, which after all would perhaps be the safest. I have desired Lord Spencer to tell him that he must not think of going till after the Charter House election.

"In thinking over your venison list for Oxford, I have desired Lord Spencer to send two bucks if *possible*, that is, if the season is far enough advanced; I suppose Stowe will furnish two, and I should advise a line to Woburn and one to Lord Fitzwilliam from Milton Park. You would thus have eight bucks within a very good distance of Oxford; and if any more is wanted, I think you might get Watkin to send two from Wynnstay, which would easily come good the 2nd day to Oxford. I have ordered your Glasgow books from Mackinlay."

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1810, June 11.—"I am very glad to receive so prosperous an account of you; and I really trust that your progress will be rapid enough to obtain a full certificate on Friday of your bodily capacity for the *Encænia*; I have just met Sir S. Smith, who means to write to Lady Grenville to announce his intention of taking a degree, and I told him it was now most likely that you would on Friday receive Vaughan's full permission to attend, if you continue to make the same progress. Grey is invisible, and Lord Ponsonby tells me that he locks himself up with his Address and nobody sees him; perhaps I may meet him at Holland House.

"Vernon makes a discouraging report for [the] Bishop of London, who told him he would support him against Westmorland, but thought it would not be right to oppose the *Minister* if he stands; I shall still endeavour to make Vernon urge Randolph, on the plea of his not being actually engaged to Perceval at the present moment. Vernon is highly flattered with the suggestion, and wishes very much to succeed, but feels that it is a case where he must not solicit. I have explained to Lord Stafford the motive for taking Vernon's name rather than his, with which he is quite pleased.

"Vernon believes Lord Sidmouth would vote for him; if so, with Lord Chatham's help, Vernon would still be sure, provided the election takes place before Grey's departure.

"I have had a long examination with the Somersets of the plans for their house, and I have the satisfaction of telling you that, in order to avoid doing you mischief, they have determined on adding to their house by building up the

space between their house and offices, if Lord Grosvenor, who is their landlord, will consent. I hinted that you would perhaps assist this request to Lord Grosvenor by applying to him if necessary ; at all events Lady Grenville should write a line from you to the Duchess and Duke to acknowledge the kindness of their denying to themselves their original plan of alteration out of consideration to your house. This is the more requisite as she showed me their builder's plan, which builds a four-windowed room directly in front of your library. This is so great a point that it should be secured without delay by the expression of your acknowledgments for it.

"Tyrwhitt, on Saturday, told me he was writing to you by the Prince's order to press you to put off the *Encœnia*, and to promise his attendance next year in case you would now comply with his request. I told him so positively that it was to depend upon Vaughan's verdict next Friday, that perhaps upon his making this report from me to the Prince, the letter was deferred ; but he said nothing of going this year, and I have heard nothing more of any notion of the Duke of Gloucester.

"I once made the same enquiry about the translation of the life of Akbar, but did not find that any existed. I will ask Reynell if I see him, but I am confident there is none. In the last volume of the Liverpool Bibliographical Dictionary there is a long catalogue of Oriental books ; it mentions the work in Persian, but does not name any translation of it, neither does the copious German catalogue of Arabic books and translations.

"The Glasgow historian's is the finest set I ever saw in red morocco by Walther out of sheets ; Mackinlay bought it for 24*l.*, and asks for it 26 guineas ; I bid Mac keep it till you decide ; mine in French calf, 15 years ago, cost 14*l.*, but since that the prices have enormously increased. If you want the book you cannot have a finer."

LORD GRENVILLE to THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

1810, June 14. Dropmore.—"At the election for a Governor of the Charter House, which is fixed for Tuesday next, the Archbishop of York will be proposed as a candidate. I am under particular obligation to him for his conduct towards me in the Oxford election, to the success of which I think he certainly contributed more than any other individual that I could name. Every consideration, therefore, of honour and gratitude obliges me to avail myself of this opportunity of making the very small return which is ever likely to be in my power by exerting myself to the utmost for his success in this instance ; and I am sure this sentiment will be a sufficient excuse with you if, in so doing, I should in any respect proceed further than I should otherwise be strictly warranted to do. I am perfectly sensible that I have no

pretensions to solicit your vote in his behalf; but, if the candidate opposed to him should happen to be one for whose success you are not particularly anxious, and you should feel yourself at liberty to vote for the archbishop, I should derive a very high gratification, both in contributing thus far to his success, and also in receiving from you this mark of personal kindness and regard. I am very much recovered from my illness, but am still interdicted from taking the pen into my own hands." *Copy.*

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, June 14. Cleveland Square.—“I was just now rejoicing in reading the excellent speech of Lord Grey, when my delights were disturbed by the unwelcome news from Lord Stafford that your vote had not been given. Lord Sidmouth had some earnest conversation in the House with the D[uke] of G[loucester], which ended in the Duke declaring that he could not vote for an Address which professed Catholick Emancipation, and he accordingly went away and carried away with him your proxy. Lord Carrington also was absent—my brother also—and just before the House met Lord Carysfort told me he should not vote, as the motion had not been shewed to him. All this is unlucky, but I hope the division will not be published, and then it does not signify. Lord Grey’s reply was excellent, particularly to Erskine, to whom he said that he thought his conduct as a judge was more to be praised than his opinion as a senator, alluding to his commitment as contrasted with his present doctrine.

“I am going to dine with my brother, whom I find better in look and less deaf by a good deal than I had expected; he stays a week or ten days, and I still hope he will see Maule; but upon the whole I am better pleased with him than I expected. I hope to hear a prosperous account of your doctor to-morrow, and to hear from him that he has nothing more to do with you.”

THE EARL OF CHATHAM to THE SAME.

1810, June 16. Hill Street.—“I should have been very sorry indeed if, on an occasion on which you felt so warmly interested, you could have hesitated for a moment in imparting your wishes to me. I can only assure you that I am truly concerned I had not known them at an earlier period, when I might have been at liberty to have shewn that attention to them which, I trust you will believe, every feeling on my part personally towards you would have led me to derive a most sincere pleasure from doing. But the fact is I was committed already, having promised the Archbishop of Canterbury, at the time he fixed the election for a Governor of the Charter House, to attend in favour of Mr. Perceval, who he intends to propose as a candidate.

“I was extremely happy to hear that you were so much recovered from your late severe attacks, and of which I trust you will soon feel no remains.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1810, June 16. Cleveland Square.]—“The archbishop is by this time half-way on his road to Yorkshire, and Lord Stafford at Wolmers, in his way to Dunrobin: but neither of them could do anything with Lord Melville; so we must hope he will stay away, which Grey thinks the likeliest. Ponsonby talks of calling for five minutes to-morrow at Dropmore, and he will tell you that there is little or no chance of the prorogation before Thursday or Friday next, so that Tuesday’s Charter House need not give you any Burdett disquietudes. Yesterday’s post from me will have answered your enquiries about my brother, whom I suppose you will see in town, and will be satisfied when you see him. Grey is well pleased, as he ought to be, with the success of his speech; he tells me the D[uke] of G[loucester] was so eager just after his speech that he begged there might be a protest; but when Sidmouth put forth his Catholick terrors the D[uke] suddenly took fright and vanished. Nothing could be more contemptible than Erskine, who tried to shrink from and elude the question; but Grey would not let him. Lord Lansdowne made a good hearty speech in support of Grey, but Holland is not above half right upon the question, tho’ I hope the other half is not decidedly wrong. D[uke] of Norfolk and Lord Douglas both objected to the doctrine about privilege; the former spoke and voted for the amendment, the latter went away and carried off his two proxies: Lord Glastonbury too, though he promised me his proxy to Fortescue, contrived to avoid giving it; he is gone to-day to Butleigh, but he does not look well.”

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1810, June 21. Eden Farm.—“I received yours this morning, and it confirmed the good account which I had already received from Lord Spencer yesterday at the Speaker’s. I should then have tried to see you, but Lord Spencer told me that you meant to set off for Dropmore at 10 o’clock.

“Lord and Lady Francis Spencer mean to be at the *Encenia*. They were at this place a few days ago, and are, I believe, to be here again from Wednesday till Friday next, but he has not been well and is at present confined to his apartment at Syon Hill.

“I have written to-day to Pinkney; he is warmly and cordially attached to you in his opinions; but he is indolent, economical, and somewhat on the alarm as to the play of parties among his constituents. I incline, therefore, to think that he will not move from home, though in my private note

to him I have seemed to suppose that he is going to Oxford, and have offered introductions to him.

"On my return yesterday from town I found Lord and Lady Carlisle here. He seemed to be delighted with the discomfiture of Wardle, Cobbet and company, and also to see with some complacency the silly and uncreditable scrape in which Lord Folkstone is entangled. Lord Morpeth will be at Oxford, and Mr. Hall writes to us that he is to be lodged at the Deanery.

"I sincerely hope that they will give to you an abridged bill of fare for Oxford. The most detailed account that I can find respecting former *Encenias* is in the second volume of the *Annual Register*; but on that occasion there was an installation also.

"We shall look into our post-bag to-morrow or Friday for two or three lines from Lady Grenville respecting the line of march."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

[1810, June 23.] Cleveland Square.—"Lyttleton and Ward and I believe Tierney must be added to your list of Oxford visitors: Tierney, however, is not quite sure. Lord Spencer sends his two bucks from Althorp to Oxford, and tells me that Poynton from Cowdrey, having some very *fat* bucks, has promised to send one to be on Saturday, 30th June, evening, at Camelford House, for which Lady G[renville] should write him a little note of thanks; moreover, he comes to Oxford to be doctored. Now I find from Lord Buckingham that a hamper of 20 hares will likewise arrive on the same Saturday, 30th June, at Camelford House; and as all waggons and coaches will be overflowing, it strikes me that it might be best to order a little taxed cart and one horse to take the venison and hares, and anything else that you may want; by which means you will be sure of them in time; if you like this you had better order it so.

"Lord Carleton goes to Oxford from Stowe. Lord Althorp is not yet stout enough to accompany his father to Oxford, but goes in two days to the sea. Sir F. B[urdett] contrived to offend the mob by not joining the procession yesterday, and by keeping that resolution a secret lost all merit of preventing the assembling of mob.

"Temple, seeing Ryder in the House at the Prorogation, shook hands with him, and said 'We have done for this Session, and I suppose shall meet you again much as we leave you'; to which Ryder replied, 'I don't know that, I don't know that you will *meet me* as you leave me.' This agrees with what you heard of the other great man's conversation from my brother.

"I have a letter from the A[rch] B[ishop] with many thanks for the efforts made on this occasion, and assurances of his

being very thankful for a similar support on any future occasion; so all that has turned out very well, in spite of the failure. Elliot has just called to tell me that the Duke of Bedford cannot come to Oxford, for the D[uchess] expecting to be then confined will not let him; he says there is not a word of truth in Coke having invited Burdett, and that he *knows* it is not true."

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, June 26. Eden Farm.—"I this morning received the enclosed answer from Mr. Pinckney. Do not take the trouble to return it to me. George Eden will call on him to-day, and will also take some charge of him in Oxford, and will be materially aided by Mr. Wickham.

"With full confidence that you will in no degree suffer by the bustles of the week, but that you will nevertheless be glad to return to a 'quiet system' at Dropmore, Lady Auckland and I look forward with earnestness to the hope of meeting you there for two or three days on your return.

"I have seen some curious private letters of the 2nd May from Sicily from the best authority; they are written in terms of apprehension, approaching to despondency, respecting the inadequacy of Sir John Stuart's force to resist the expected enterprises of Murat; more especially 'as there are strong suspicions that the Queen of Naples is making some private bargain with Napoleon.' "

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LADY GRENVILLE.

[1810, June 26 or 27. Cleveland Square.]—"I have just got your note upon my return from Cashiobury—I enclose to you one from William Spencer (son to Lord Charles) about Mrs. Chinnery and Miss. Pray tell me by *return of post* what answer I am to make to Spencer. Henry has been with me, and I learn from him that the measles have seized upon one of the young ladies; and that the Carringtons will not be able to go, nor to receive a large party who were to stop there in their way; Henry himself goes with Lockhart (partner to Gordon), and sleeps, as he tells me, at the Master's of Pembroke. Tierney and Gils go with Lord Essex; Ward, fickle as usual, does not go. There will be a bed for Lord Fitzwilliam at Lord Spencer's, where I am, so you need keep only one spare one for Lord Milton, who probably will not come. If I hear of anybody for your vacant Ch[rist] Ch[urch] beds, I will tell you, but there is no harm in having one or two beds in reserve in case of distress.

"Lord Jersey comes for *Tuesday* only, as he is impatient to return to my lady's straw. I think you might offer Lord Buckingham a bed at Ch[rist] Ch[urch] for Lord Carleton. I hope to be with you on Thursday."

Enclosure :

W. R. SPENCER to THOMAS GRENVILLE.

“Until you have read me, you will think me very impudent to write to you at all; when you have read me, I feel sure that your good nature will pardon me. I am living with some friends, the Chinnerys, whose kindness has literally saved my life during two or three years of the greatest possible misery. Mrs. Chinnery’s only son has not only gain’d the University prize for English verse, but has written so superiorly one of the complimentary addresses that the Vice Chancellor orders him to open the ceremony by *reciting his own verses*, against the establish’d practise of giving them to a nobleman to recite. Now this very extraordinary student had never any *tutor* (till he came to the University) except his *mother*. This mother and his twin sister of course are most anxious to witness his two triumphs, and there is no hope of obtaining them places, unless Lady Grenville will allow them to sit in her box at the Oxford Theatre. I think with such powerful and interesting claims as these, she wou’d not hesitate to grant them this favour. Allow me to entreat you *most earnestly* to make this known to Lady Grenville. Lord Grenville has already heard of young Chinnery’s merits *before his present double victory*. . . .”

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, June 28. Eden Farm.—“I received a very kind letter to-day from Lord Grey, announcing his near departure for Northumberland, with sentiments of disgust as to the public predicament, but with a cordial disposition and intention to return among us whenever he can hope to be useful. He expresses regret that circumstances do not allow him to attend you at Oxford.

“Lord Francis and Lady Frances Spencer are here, and he is not well, but they mean to set off from Sion for Oxford next Tuesday morning. He feels very properly on the subject and consequences of the Walcheren vote.

“Lord Sidmouth yesterday sent to me by Mr. Vansittart a letter from a general officer with Lord Wellington, announcing the near probability of a battle or retreat (perhaps both). The opposite armies were not far from Ciudad Rodrigo; and Lord Wellington had already sent his baggage, and part of his magazines, to his rear in the line towards Lisbon.”

LORD ERSKINE to THE SAME.

1810, June 30. Upper Grosvenor Street.—“Your letter has delivered me from a ceremony which I never courted. I know nothing of Oxford, but as it lately did honour or rather justice to your lordship. I sought no distinctions from her, nor ever thought of accepting them, but from the expression of your lordship’s wish soon after your election and my very

sincere desire of offering you the most public mark of attachment and respect. I am indeed proud to think that Oxford can confer no honour nor cast any shade upon my name and character ; but respecting her university as an august, honourable and learned body, I am confident that any proposition to have dishonoured me for my independent opinion in Parliament upon the late subject of privilege would have been rejected with indignation by her Senate ; yet I must believe from your letter that the hope of promotion or the contemptible desire of embarrassing your lordship might perhaps have raised up some such candidate for disgrace.

“I shall certainly not be present at the installation, and as my attendance was generally expected, I shall leave it to your lordship to vindicate me from any apparent disrespect.

“I have the honour to be, with all that regard with which you are so well acquainted, etc.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, July 16. Stowe.—“The result of your journey to Oxford afforded the most decisive proof that nothing is so wholesome as to be pleased and satisfied. I do not, however, enforce this argument to press you into the service of Wotton or Wales, at any earlier period than your own health, strength and spirits may suggest to you, because till you are stout enough to feel eager and confident in such pursuits, you are doing more prudently by sitting still in your own chair without risk of heat or fatigue. The first of these dangers indeed does not seem very imminent, and if there is any truth in St. Swithin, the wet of the next six weeks may very probably more than balance the account of the weather.

“My present situation is to go over to Wotton with Temple on this day se’nnight, and to go on from thence on the subsequent Friday or Saturday to Llangedwin, where I shall pass a week with Charles, before I meet the Bala party on the 7th of August. Mr. and Mrs. Wickham left us this morning, and Elizabeth and her daughters go on to-morrow to Elton.

“Mr. Lyttelton came here yesterday, and keeps all our young friends in very constant laugh ; he and George, as I believe, do not go together abroad, though they will leave England about the same time and with the same objects.

“I do not myself hear anything of Mary’s match, but I collect from my sisters that it is going on, though I believe there are some difficulties as to the boiling of the pot which are not yet surmounted. My brother seems very well in health and spirits.

“I have no news. Wickham had a letter from Cadiz, dated on the 28th June, which states that Massena was in such force as to prevent Lord Wellington from making any effort to relieve Ciudad Rodrigo. If so, we have indeed a very short lease left to us of the kingdom of Portugal. Wickham’s letter mentioned the Spanish expedition to the

rear of the French army as being disapproved of by all our officers at Cadiz."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1810, August 8. Llangedwin.—"I write to you in the moment in which I am setting forth to Bala, in order to enclose to you another letter which I have just received from my correspondent Fraser from Rio Janeiro; this correspondence is certainly interesting, and may be useful; I have, therefore, thought it right to acknowledge and to thank him for his letters, and I send to you the few lines that I have written, partly because you may wish to add a few words upon any particular object of enquiry, but chiefly, too, because I gave you his last letter, which contains his direction, and I must trust to you for supplying it from his last, and forwarding it by the foreign post. As there is something like an explanation on Fraser's part of his making any suggestions to Lord Strangford, it seemed to me desirable by no means to check or discourage him from giving any information that he thought might be of advantage to the public or the Government. Do, however, what you please with my letter, and alter it to your own fancy, or substitute another for it, just as you please; I have no other object in inviting the continuance of the correspondence, than as it may appear to you to be likely to be of any use to you."

"What I saw of you at Wotton left me very little hope of seeing you in Wales, and therefore I was not in that respect disappointed by Lady Grenville's letter, but I will not engage for the same philosophical composure if I should find that the quiet and repose of Dropmore do not actively assist you in recovering your former strength. My own notion still is that, well as you stood the fatigues of Oxford at the time, the exertion nevertheless was somewhat premature, and now hangs a little heavily upon the progress that you had made towards complete recovery. The Walcheren fever in the case of Proby and many others is sufficient to shew how long the seeds of bodily indisposition may lie dormant before they shew the mischief that belongs to them. If, however, your English summer is like our Welsh one, you will have little to apprehend from the glare of the dog-day sun; for with us at least its rays are every day tempered with very frequent and abundant showers, but the country is more beautiful than ever."

Postscript.—"If you have lost Fraser's direction, you had better send it under cover to Lord Strangford."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1810, August 26. Wynnstay.—"I should feel a good deal disappointed with your account of yourself if it had not concluded with the assurance of great improvement in the last

week, and with that evidence of it which arises from your visit to Cashiobury. I am still persuaded that the slowness of your recovery belongs only to the premature exertions which you have found yourself obliged to make, and therefore teach myself to be confident that you will soon regain your strength, by a perfect state of repose and tranquillity, and by entirely avoiding for the present any degree of fatigue or exertion either to mind or body. Our last week has been a true old-fashioned August week of sunshine and open windows and sitting under trees to hear the old Dee, and to see him scambling along in all his original beauty. Here, however, as well as at Bala, I have these delights a good deal to myself, as Neville and Shipley and Chumleigh and Vansittart are all such sportsmen as to be entirely engrossed by the grouse of this month and the preparations for the partridges of September.

“Sir C. Saxton is likewise here, and I have made it a matter of conscience to ask the Irish Secretary a few questions about the politicks of Ireland. I perceive, however, that he sincerely entertains a better opinion of the abilities of the Duke of Richmond than I had thought could be ascribed to him, and he professes to have no apprehensions as to the Anti-Union meetings and resolutions which he is persuaded will die away without effect or mischief; he has good sense and candour enough to feel the general danger of the country, in no part of which does he find any trace of English feeling or congeniality with English interests; in some, but not in many parts, he believes there is an eager and active French interest, but he does not seem to consider that danger as one that presses in the present moment. With regard to the Irish Catholic bishops, he appears to believe that they will not of themselves give way to any fair interpretation of the *Veto*, but I perceive that he thinks that it would be easy enough to gain them over to the wishes of the English Government, if the influence and means of Government were properly and liberally applied for that purpose.

“Charles left us yesterday, having come over here from Llangedwin to talk over the substance of his speech on privilege, which he means to add to the appendix of his second edition. I think it will do very well, and will with propriety and advantage be added to his former argument. Has the post robbed you of the first part of Fraser’s letter, that you speak only of receiving the last sheet? I sent you the whole of it.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, September 1. Wynnstay.—“... I guess by the little that I hear from my Irish friend here, that the Irish Government is a little more alive than it was to the danger of *the Union* becoming the point of popular clamour and discontent in Ireland. I was amused to hear the other day the

explanation of *Lawyer Manly* being made a Commissioner of Excise. Upon the vacancy happening, the Duke of Rutland wrote so strong a solicitation in favour of his friend the famous coxcomb Brummell, that Perceval flew for refuge to Westminster Hall, and found that the Board of Excise could not go on unless the new Commissioner was a lawyer, and Manly was appointed hastily in fear of Rutland and Brummell."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to THE SAME.

[1810,] September 9. [Stowe.]—"Your note just came in time to save a buck which was killed yesterday, and was on the point of going out. It goes to-morrow morning to Oxford, with two directions to the Worshipful the Mayor of Bristol, and with your compliments. I shall be most happy to see you on the 18th to dinner at five o'clock, and shall expect to find you in good looks; pray write all that is civil to Lord Blandford for me.

"I have letters from George Berkeley of the 22nd full of confidence that Massena must retire, Almeida being still open, and the *blockade* not having been undertaken as late as the 19th. The sick and deserters beyond all calculation. The Spanish interceptions are correct, Graham having informed G[eorge] Berkeley that he has seen the originals. Lord Wellington has ordered 4,000 of Graham's 9,000 to join him, unless Graham can undertake the offensive, which he is not to do. The Spanish ships are all gone, so that we have no employment for that large garrison at Cadiz. Dick will have sent you his narrative of the state of the coast of France. I have an American account that states the Boulogne flotilla (with the exception of about 60 boats) to be wholly rotten."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1810, October 2. Castle Howard.—"I rejoice to find in a letter just received from Lord Spencer a very prosperous account of you with the expression of his regrets that his yeomanry prevented him from meeting you at Middleton. Pray let me, however, have this confirmed under your own hand; the good events of private life are all that remain, for those of a publick interest appear to me daily under a more and more gloomy aspect. The state of credit in the country seems to be brought to a more critical point than the present Ministers will know how to manage. The day that I passed through Leeds a great bank there stopped payment, the same thing at Chester, and again at Pomfret; in one point of view perhaps these failures are not to be regretted, because perhaps nothing short of them can bring people's minds to a just view of the necessity of stopping the endless multiplication of paper money, by compelling the

Bank to resume by degrees its payments in cash ; and it may be better for the country that this paper bubble should burst now than at a later period when the evils of it might have been extended to a still greater degree ; but still with the ticklish state of money concerns in London, and with all that we have seen of Perceval's ignorance upon these important points, together with his avowed hostility to the opinions stated by the Bullion Committee, it is a fearful thing to see all that is at stake, and to consider who they are who will decide on such important questions. I think it not unlikely that Perceval will take fright enough to fly to Huskisson for assistance, and that he and Canning and Sturges may go back to Downing Street, instead of their proposed journey to Lisbon and Cadiz. Huskisson Chancellor of the Exchequer, Canning instead of Ryder, and Dundas vacating the Board of Control by replacing Lord Minto, might bring this about, if Perceval can reconcile himself to Canning, and Canning forget all that he has said against submitting to Perceval, or Huskisson may come in alone to help to stand against this storm of financial difficulties.

"I found the Archbishop just returned from Lowther ; his language was that of hoping that you would take a dignified line and not condescend to mix in a course of daily opposition, and I had heard much the same from our friends at Baron Hill and St. Asaph ; my answer was the same to all, that I believed it would be a good deal more difficult to excite than to moderate your political ardour, and that I did not see any temptation in the 'existing circumstances' that was likely to draw from you anything more than the absolute discharge of your publick duty in the House of Lords. The Archbishop and the Bishop of St. A[saph] are both of them fretting under the daily queries, with which they are tormented by Lord Harrowby, ever since he has graciously taken the Established Church under his patronage ; the Archbishop and Bishop of London are worrying the Bishop of Sodor and Man, who has admitted a man into orders, as they say, against the Canons, and contrary to a formal notice given by the Archbishop ; so that Sodor and Man is in a scrape."

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, October 2. Gogmagog Hills.—"I calculate that this will meet you nearly on your return from Stowe, well advanced I hope towards perfect recovery, by a little change of air without any mixture of bustle and fatigue. I wish that it may not be necessary for you to go this year into Cornwall. Nothing is so essential after any severe constitutional attack as a state of quiescence. I see an excellent example here in my daughter Charlotte, who is gradually, though slowly, recovering, and rising into full health from a state of extreme

danger. I often recollect on this subject two hackneyed lines which I learnt fifty-five years ago in my nursery :—

‘The best physicians are Doctor Diet,
Doctor Merryman and Doctor Quiet.’

“Lady Auckland and I thought it right to vary our scenes a little ; we went, therefore, a fortnight ago to the Speaker’s, and then came to this place. We mean to re-settle on Thursday at Eden Farm, and shall take root there for the winter, unless we should find it practicable to accept your kind invitation to pay our respects to Lady Grenville in the course of an excursion to Blenheim.

“Lord Francis Spencer is still in an alarming state (apparently the same as that of the Bishop of Oxford). We have, however, a better account of him to-day from Brighton.

“Eden Farm has acquired a new interest in our estimation, through the kindness of Lord Gwydir, who has let his house and place called Langley Farm to Mr. Wedderburn. You may probably recollect that the grounds and walks are joined to ours by a bridge. Louisa is delighted at being brought so close to us ; and it will be a great and permanent comfort to Lady Auckland. The three southern rooms and front of the house have a sort of affinity to Dropmore. The lawn is cheerful, but flat and without any distant view.

“I collect from the newspapers that the Portuguese campaign is drawing to its crisis, and I shall be glad to hear that we have been able to withdraw our army. We have wasted in three years above thirty millions of guineas (which waste the Bullion Committee should have considered as the great operative cause of our pecuniary embarrassments). I say nothing about the waste of human lives ; unhappily we care less about men than about money.

“I have just seen letters from Lord Minto, who is very sanguine as to the capture of the *Isle de France*. Such a conquest would not be unimportant to our East India commerce. I recollect that Lord Melville always thought it a difficult and hazardous enterprise.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1810, October 14. Eden Farm.—“The kind invitation to Dropmore is highly interesting to Lady Auckland and to me, and to Mary also, if she may be considered as included in it. We wish to see Lady Grenville and you, and to satisfy ourselves that you are in a progress towards full convalescence. And I personally feel an impatience to set my notions to rights respecting the great events and speculations and projects which are at work both at home and abroad.

“The surplus is certainly beyond the most sanguine expectations, and I understand that the produce of the war taxes is also good, but the Portuguese, Spanish and Sicilian sponges will absorb these overflowings and much more.

“The state of our paper currency presents embarrassments and difficulties, whatever course may be proposed; but I apprehend that, at all events, it will become expedient to compel the Bank (it cannot be accomplished without compulsion) gradually to contract their issues to Government, and their discounts and loans to merchants and bankers. I conceive that the root of the evil is to be found in our insane Continental expenditure.”

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, October 16. Eden Farm.—“On returning yesterday from the fastidious business of visiting the neighbourhood, I found the *Extraordinary Gazette*, and Lord Liverpool’s guarded letter, on my table. I have since received the last night’s *Courier*, and the Treasury paragraph assures me that ‘we have gained a glorious victory, and established our invincible superiority, and that the French army was cut down like ridges of grass by the scythes of the mowers.’ In despite of this amiable and figurative assurance, I suspect that Massena will have the provoking impudence to assert that with the sacrifice of a few men he out-generaled us, and turned our position, and forced us from our strong post and fastnesses, and compelled us to retreat over the Mondego; and possibly that the results will be the immediate capture of Coimbra and Oporto with provisions and stores. The *Courier* adds with some *naïveté* that ‘the next battle may be fought on the south side of the Mondego.’ There cannot be a doubt of Lord Wellington’s bravery, and his troops seem to be attached to him; but history perhaps may doubt how far he has ever shown either quality as a commander of an army, or wisdom or truth as a writer of despatches.”

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to THE SAME.

[1810,] October 17. London.—“Fortescue will have told you that he left us here on the road to Gosfield, where I shall pass three weeks and then return to Stowe. My object in going through London has been to arrange finally on a proposition (which has been long depending but in a state so uncertain as not to leave me the means of opening it to my family) for a marriage between my daughter and Mr. Arundell, which I accepted yesterday. The choice is entirely her own, for as it can only be *comfortable* for the present and not likely to be *very brilliant* hereafter, I could only leave it to her to decide. The character of the young man is quite unexceptionable, and his manners very amiable, but as there are points in it that I cannot but consider as drawbacks, I have not been very sanguine in my views of it. I well know that your affection and that of dear Lady Grenville to me and mine

will induce you to join me in every anxious wish for my girl's happiness, which has been my only object in this marriage.

"I am delighted at hearing that you are thinking of a short journey to Boconnoc, because it proves not only that you are really better but that you think yourself so, which is a great point towards real health. I am very rheumatic, but upon the whole have no right to complain. Politics I have none, save that Percival has offered *again*, about 18 days ago, terms to Addington, who *again* refused if Canning was to be included; and Lord Wellesley stipulates for *Canning*, who stipulates for Lord Granville Levison, and for Huskisson, and the whole will end in nothing, which I believe is fortunate for Ministers, and perfectly the same thing to the public. Lord Camden had pressed Lord Castlereagh in the beginning of September to take office again with Canning, and received for answer 'that he had left his personal animosities on Putney Heath, but that he could not resume office with Mr. Canning without loss of character with the public which would render him less capable of assisting Government.' Canning is, I know, most unhappy, and with a lust for office not disguised and most insatiable."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1810, October 17. Elton.—"You who are nearer than I am to all our wise men in London, can perhaps better understand than I can why Lord Liverpool fires the guns for an action which even Lord Wellington nowhere calls a victory, and which produces no other result than that of his retreating from Coimbra, which it had been his object to defend; as little do I understand why Massena attacked our position at all, when he equally dislodged Lord Wellington from the Sierra only by marching round it, and thus threatening to get between Coimbra and Lord Wellington; least of all do I understand why Lord W[ellington], who tells you that he foresaw this danger, and that his possession of Sardao would have secured him against it, did not take effectual means for the security of this post by a written order which could not have been subject to be contravened or misinterpreted. To all these difficulties I have in vain looked for a solution from one of the Cabinet Ministers, who is here on a visit; Lord Westmorland himself was not indeed likely to furnish much of information or interpretation, but he read us a letter from Cook, in which he says he is much gratified by learning from Captain Burgh that 'it was not Lord Wellington's intention to attack Massena, or even to wait to be attacked by Massena, but that he proposed to himself to *delude* Massena into an attack upon him in his *strong intrenchments*, when he had no doubt of a compleat victory.' Lord Burghurst [Burghersh] had written in the same sense to his father, and said that if Massena could be invited to follow

Lord W[ellington] up to Torres Vedras, he would be more thoroughly beaten than any French army had been since the Revolution. All this may be a very scientific military project, but I should think the experience of the 28th may shew Lord Wellington that there are other means of dislodging an enemy from a strong position, when a direct attack cannot be made ; and I know not why he should think that Massena should be more destitute of these resources at Torres Vedras than he was at the Sierra ; will Lord W[ellington] remain in his strong intrenchments at Torres Vedras if Massena threatens to turn his right or his left for the attack of Lisbon ? But our Minister has, I believe, told us the great source of hope which his colleagues entertain, and he told us pretty frankly that an intercepted letter from Massena to King Joseph had described such a desperate state of want of men and means that it is still incredible that Massena should have ventured to pursue Lord W[ellington], *unless indeed the letter was forged*, which there was (in his, Westmorland's, mind) too much reason to suspect. I imagine, however, that the Cabinet has no great fund of means to form any opinion, for Lord Westmorland told Lord Carysfort a little while ago that they were sadly off for intelligence, for that Lord Wellington had been angry at the publication of some of his letters, '*and now will not write at all to any of us.*'

"I had an opportunity of laughing in my sleeve most delightfully at our great man here yesterday on another topick. Lord W[estmorland] was lamenting the hard fate of his friend Sir F. Standish, who had lost 7,000*l.* of Exchequer Bills, which he had lodged with Devaynes, who, said he, was *scoundrel* enough to sell Sir F.'s Exchequer Bills for his own profit. I said it was a most villainous swindling trick, and that it was deplorable to see how quickly so bad an example had been followed by Goldsmid, who had done precisely the same thing with the Exchequer Bills that were the property of the publick offices, who employed him as a broker. I said this in such a tone of serious lamentation, that his lordship has not yet discovered how indecently I had taken the liberty to laugh at him.

"My sister had lately a very prosperous letter from Henry from Cadiz, full of the praises of General Graham's activity and skill in the line of redoubts constructed in the Isla ; but as Lord W[estmorland] told us that 4,000 English troops had sailed from Cadiz to reinforce Lord Wellington, I suppose the French are no longer there in force enough to threaten an attack upon Graham's redoubts. Henry had seen Adair, who had communicated with Lucian Bonaparte in Sicily ; Lucian's language was that his dispute with Napoleon was a mere *querelle de famille*, which made it necessary for him to retire to America, but that he did not wish to take any concern in any measures or plans either for the advantage or disadvantage of the Emperor of France. Henry was going

on with Fremantle up the Mediterranean, and seemed very much pleased with his expedition. His sister Harriet has just said Aye to a proposal of marriage from Mr. Cholmondeley of Vale Royal. The *per contra* is that he has been a great gamester, but he has long been very much attached to Harriet, forswears all play, has written to take his name out of all the clubs, and insists upon settling and tying up every shilling of his property. His present estate is above 6,000*l. per annum*, tho' his income does not much exceed 4,000*l.* at present; but the estate will very shortly be raised by an encrease of 2,500*l. per annum*, and in a further time will have a further encrease; so that the means are quite sufficient, and I hope and trust by what I hear she has a very fair prospect of happiness. She will be surrounded by her own friends and relations—Wynnstay, Glynn, Shipley, the Cottons, Sir H. Mainwaring, who married a Cotton, Sir R. Brooke, who married Miss Cunliffe, all these are within two hours' drive; and what is much more important, Mr. Cholmondeley is reckoned a very good-natured affectionate man. I once saw him for two days, and thought his manners very courteous and gentlemanly, but I do not personally know much of him.

“Tho' I am disappointed as to the possibility of meeting you here, I rejoice to find that you are stout enough for Bristol and Boconnoc; I think I can be of no possible use to you at Bristol, but if you think otherwise, say so without reserve, for I have no measure of distances whenever you think I can be of any the least use to you. Lord F—— might bring Lord Porchester. You may have Sir Hippeley if you ask him, and perhaps if you do not.”

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, October 20. Eden Farm.—“Our little arrangements are now made for going on Monday, the 12th, to Dropmore (to be there before 3 o'clock) till Saturday, the 17th, unless we should hear that from any intervening consideration you prefer Tuesday, the 13th.

“The Portuguese campaign seems to be woefully verifying all our opinions and predictions respecting it. It is difficult not to feel indignation at so wild a waste of human blood and national resources; and that feeling is aggravated by Lord Wellington's fallacious style, in which he gives to defeat the tone and pretensions of victory; and still more by the shameless absurdity of firing the Tower guns, and the extravagant misrepresentations given in the newspapers; but above all the stupid disposition of our countrymen to deceive themselves, and to wish to be deceived.

“I understand from no bad authority that a plan is going forwards to make some compromise between the India Company and the public by throwing open the private trade to Bengal, and the coast, on the renewal of the charter; and that if this

can be accomplished early in the Session, it might be convenient to Government to send out a new Governor-General with the new charter. My informant added that Lord Wellesley would wish to go; but that the Directors would oppose it."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, October 24. Elton.—"I continue in fearful anxiety to look for the battle of the Tagus. Their generals and newspapers lie so outrageously, that one knows not how to find any truth. The *Courier* and other English papers all describe our force as only 59,000, against Massena with between 70 and 80,000, but at Apthorpe yesterday Lord W[estmorland] shewed me a letter of the 13th from Lord Burghersh's, in which he says a battle is inevitable, but that we have in the field *as many as Massena*; and a letter from Cooke describes the official accounts as holding the same language; so that I hope the *Courier* and the others are only disparaging our numbers in order to enhance the value of the expected victory. You saw the *Gazette* and other newspapers. All spoke of the French loss at the Sierra to be 2,000 killed, 8,000 wounded; and yet Lord Burghersh's letter, which I saw, says, 'the loss of the French in killed and wounded is not less than 4,000 men.' Indeed, when you recollect that all the French wounded must have been left at Coimbra, and that Trant found there only 5,000 (including the garrison, and part of the followers of the army), you will see that Trant's account seems to give a result not very different from that of Lord Burghersh. It is an anxious moment; I pass all and every day in trying to imagine what Massena's motive can be for an effort that appears to be of a desperate character, because it seems to leave him in a position quite irrecoverable, supposing the chance of battle to be against him. Fawkeners writes me word that he knows from very good authority that our Ministers are informed that Massena's army and some of his principal officers are highly dissatisfied with him, and think his conduct quite unintelligible, unless it be that he acts under positive orders from Bonaparte, which he dares not disobey; but I distrust their information, and continue to abide by my own apprehensions and perplexities. I cannot quite discharge from my mind the notion that Massena is to bar us up in our present position, while an additional French force is to march from Spain along the Tagus to the attack of Lisbon; but whence are they to come from, and how are they to eat and drink? I am quite lost in conjectures.

"I am much amused with your account of the summer negotiations, of which I quite believe the substance to be true, and am entirely of opinion with you that the restless intriguing spirit of the ex-Minister will not rest till somehow or other he shall get his red boxes again. What a situation

indeed for Perceval to have such friends and such enemies, and such a singular confusion of both, in and out of his confidence. If Lord Wellington is successful, Lord Wellesley's head will be turned, and he will exact so much that the King will be obliged to get rid of him and of his vanities; so that I rather expect him in a momentary opposition than in the first seat of Government."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO THE SAME.

[1810,] October 27. Gosfield.—"I begin to be very impatient for news from Lisbon, for Berkeley's letters, as well as those of my son, have taught me to be very sanguine in my belief that Massena's provisions must compell him to attack Lord Wellington to great disadvantage; and that it was not possible that he should succeed; and his retreat, which was expected on the lower road by Thomar and Castel Branco, would be most difficult, the river being occupied by our flotilla as high as Santarem, and the boats destroyed above that point. I know that we see this matter differently, but I cannot conceive how Bonaparte is to recover what he will lose generally in all his views, and specifically in Spain, by the defeat of this campaign. At the same time, I consider our defeat (if we lose this game) as equally disastrous. George is again gone to the army; and upon the whole I am not sorry that he is employing his mind actively and usefully, though in a line that I hate so much, and from which I have endeavoured to turn him."

Secret. LORD GRENVILLE TO EARL GREY.

1810, October 29. Dropmore.—"I have received information (I am not at liberty to say from whom, but it may be depended on) that the King has had ever since Thursday or Friday last a decided return of his former malady. Lord Arden went up to town on Friday night with this intelligence to his brother, and to-day he and the Chancellor are gone down to Windsor. The King is not permitted to leave his bedroom, and everything is kept as secret as possible, but I conceive it impossible to prevent its transpiring, and I should not be surprised if the visit of these two Ministers were the occasion of its getting into the papers.

"You will observe that Parliament is now exactly in the same situation with respect to its meeting as it was in 1788. That attack began about the 22nd of October, this about the 25th. Parliament was then prorogued to the 20th of November, now to the 23rd; and unless an amendment should take place in the interval, there will be no power to prorogue it again. In the two intermediate attacks in 1801 and 1804, as Parliament was actually sitting, the thing was

in some degree kept from public observation ; but in this instance, as in 1788, it must, I apprehend, be brought forward as the ground of the Parliament meeting in so irregular a manner, without previous notice of its being for dispatch of business.

“We shall, therefore, meet on the 23rd of next month. Much occurs to me to say to you on the subject of the course to be then held ; but I will write again if matters continue as they are, or indeed if they change ; and if we are to meet in November, I conclude you will, however reluctantly, be there, and that, too, some time before. I am for this last month so much better as to think myself quite recovered, but I had meant to spare myself even if we met in February. I do not, therefore, look forward without some apprehension to any possibility of active Parliamentary attendance in November.” *Copy.*

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, November 1. Eden Farm.—“Many thanks for yours of Wednesday. A letter from Mr. Garlike, who had seen Lord St. Helens and Count Munster, added to the confidential perusal of a daily letter from one of the Princess’s, had already apprized me of the nature of the King’s indisposition ; but your information is better and more detailed. It is not easy to conceive a more terrible visitation of mental misery than that of feverish insanity added to total blindness. I understand that the instances of blind persons being so afflicted have seldom occurred ; perhaps it may be inferred that this lessens the probability of recovery.

“The Chancellor and Chancellor of Exchequer will not differ in their wishes and efforts to avoid a meeting of Parliament, but unless there should be some change in the course of another week, the responsibility will become such as to surmount all their wishes. On the whole nothing can be more dreary or uncomfortable than our home prospect. And with respect to the Continent, I continue to expect a fruitless waste of lives, money, and national character, with ultimately a disgraceful flight, if attainable ; and all this perversely in despite of the *Morning Post* and *Courier*, who continue to assert that there remains no subject of anxiety or doubt except as to the extent of the destruction of the French armies.

“The Attorney-General sent to us yesterday a ‘hopeless’ account of Lord Dartmouth from his son Heneage Legge.

“I wish that I could close this scrawl with something less sombre. I congratulate you on the approaching marriages of your two nieces.

“Napoleon is pleasantly presumptuous in appointing a governess for his imperial and royal unborn children.

“Scenes are likely to be exhibited in the first part at least of the next Session, such as must postpone discussions relative

to the East India Company. I have various books and collections relative to East India trade and empire; many of them were borrowed in the last Session by Lord Buckinghamshire, but I cannot recover them, and others are here. Nothing would more gratify Lady Auckland and me, than to see Lady Grenville and you here for any three or four days that you could sacrifice; and we are restrained from urging it solely by a just sense of your being in all respects so much more comfortable to yourselves at home. Of this we can talk in the week after next. In the mean time Mr. Wickham has quite delighted us by the terms in which he mentions to George Eden the entire recovery and re-establishment of your health."

LORD GRENVILLE to EARL GREY.

1810, November 1. Dropmore.—"This day's post from town will doubtless inform you of the very unexpected circumstance of the meeting of Parliament on its last prorogation, and of the adjournment which I hear is to be moved to this day fortnight.

"It is a scandalous neglect on the part of Ministers to have been a full week apprized of the necessity of meeting to-day, and to have given no notice of it to anybody except, I suppose, to a few of their own creatures. In 1788, when the same thing occurred, we wrote circular letters to everybody to apprise them of it. The fortnight's adjournment is founded on the same precedent. It was then unanimously agreed to, and is, I think, right. The members present being assembled, though not regularly yet under circumstances in which they must act, are bound, if the case will allow it, to give to the absent members the same notice which the law requires in cases of the greatest urgency.

"I conclude this will bring you to town, however unwillingly, yet without delay. Nothing can be ultimately fixed in your absence as to any course to be pursued. I have not yet seen the Prince, but have had some very general communications from him merely as to the fact, accompanied with very gracious expressions. He is at Windsor, surrounded by people who will use every art to bend him to their own purposes.

"Should he resort to me for advice, the first recommendation I must feel myself bound to give him is that of the utmost caution and circumspection. It is obvious what the public feeling will be, what indeed it ought to be, towards a King at this advanced age labouring at once under the two greatest of human evils, and this attack probably produced, certainly accelerated, by the near prospect of domestic misfortune. You know how much, I think, I have to complain of personal ill-treatment, yet I should be ashamed of myself if I did not feel on such an occasion the strongest sympathy and commiseration. How much more will this be expected from a son, now of mature and somewhat advanced age. His

enemies will omit no endeavour to fasten upon him the imputation of an impatience to take advantage of this scene of misery, and to anticipate what the course of nature cannot much longer delay. Should they succeed in this attempt, the mischief to the Prince and to the country will be irreparable. Should he on the contrary be enabled by his conduct on this occasion to recommend himself to the feelings of the country, it may be productive of great advantage.

“All I have ventured hitherto to suggest, or indeed have had the opportunity of suggesting to him, has been to receive as matter of communication whatever the Ministers think fit to impart to him, but to decline approving or concurring in any step of theirs until he has the opportunity of consulting those whom he may think fit to confide in. Who *they* may be remains to be seen; should I be among the number, the present leaning of my mind is to recommend to him to refer himself wholly and avowedly to the decision of Parliament, to acquiesce in all measures sanctioned by the precedent of 1788, not as called upon to express any personal opinion on the steps which he then disapproved, but regarding that precedent as an authoritative decision entitled to his respect and obedience; and as thinking it far more expedient for the public interests to take any past proceeding as the rule of his present conduct, than to expose the country to the divisions and animosities which must follow a renewed discussion of the questions then agitated.

“I need not tell you how impatient I am both to hear from you and to converse with you on this momentous question, and on all the others to which it may probably lead.

“We are still without news from Portugal. The friends of the Ministers are so confident of triumph that they begin already to challenge any man to avow now a disapprobation of our campaigning there. My own opinion remains unaltered, nor shall I shrink from avowing it whatever be the result of this battle. I think the project desperate and wicked; it puts to hazard our safety, failure may involve us in ruin, the utmost success cannot, I am confident, insure to us the least permanent advantage. In the meantime the internal state of this country and of Ireland is such as will speedily leave it no longer a matter of dispute whether we *can* maintain a war against France on the Continent of Europe.” *Copy.*

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, November 1. Trentham.—“Your letter of the 29th arrived here almost as soon as I did; its contents would have more surprized me, if I had not already received an intimation of the same effect two or three days ago, and I had accordingly mentioned it to my friends here, and to Lord Holland by letter, as a report which had begun to circulate. Robert Dundas and Lord Harrowby are said

to have left Sandon for town yesterday, and it seems probable that their journey belongs to the same business. I observe by the papers that the two Chancellors have been at Windsor, and I imagine they will strain every nerve to endeavour to satisfy themselves that there may be a Council held so as to authorize a further prorogation of Parliament; but if the statement of your letter is correct, they cannot venture this in the present moment; and they cannot feel confident that any fit moment may occur before the 23rd; their doubts and difficulties must therefore weigh heavily indeed upon them, and the more so because they are not ignorant in how little estimation they are held even by their own supporters and by the courtly publick. A reference therefore to former transactions will fall far short of the present case. Encreased age and renewal of malady encreases the difficulties with respect to the patient, and draws the publick attention to those other infirmities so as to make a very discouraging sum total of disorder; nor does it follow that what succeeded at an early period with all the advantage of Pitt's power and reputation, can successfully be renewed in the hands of those who have neither power nor reputation. But, yet, great means will probably be supplied out of the general compassion of this melancholy case, and there are two or three of the Cabinet who will be ready enough to try those means to their fullest extent and at all hazards; but the subject is too full as well as too delicate for writing. I depend upon hearing from you, and upon knowing from you exactly whenever this subject or any other makes you feel the least wish for me to come to you: in this early period nothing can be sufficiently known, or I would already be on my way to join you. If this passes over, and if you go to Bristol, I should stay here till the 19th, and be at Althorp on the 20th; but as I am only lounging about and have nothing to do, do not make the least scruple of writing to send for me whenever you have the least idea that we could talk over this or any other matter with more comfort or advantage than solitude affords."

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1810, November 2. Eden Farm.—“Presuming that the large letter paragraph in the *Courier* of yesterday is Ministerial, I infer that the Parliament met yesterday, because the King had been found unable to sign the commission to prorogue, and that there is an adjournment to meet in full Parliament on the 15th. The *Courier* adds that in the interval, unless the King should recover, all the Privy Council will be summoned to hear the depositions of the physicians. I wish to know whether in the event of such a summons you will not think it proper that you should be present; in which case I certainly should think it right to attend also. Circumstances may arise from hour to hour to

change the whole face of this unhappy business; but if it should continue probable that in the week after next you may be obliged to be in London, frequently, I submit to you that our projected [meeting] at Dropmore must be put off to some more auspicious time, and if you and Lady Grenville should find it not inconvenient to lodge here during the whole or any part of the week in question, it would be highly gratifying to us. Our house is filled till to-morrow se'nnight; from that day we remain quite without engagements. I apprehend, however, that you will be put into daily and hourly requisition, for meeting and consultations, probably from this day till the 15th.

"I have seen a letter from Dumourier (written, I believe, in London) on the subject of Lord Wellesley's [*sic*] position, which Dumourier considers as nearly impregnable; admitting, nevertheless, that it extends at least 35 miles. In such an extent, an enemy less able and less active than Massena may find the means of irruption. If it be true, as stated in the Vizen letter of the 5th October, that the French army is abundantly supplied with provisions, I still think that the result will (exclusively of what has already happened) be calamitous and disgraceful to us."

Postscript.—"Three o'clock. I wrote the enclosed at an early hour, having occasion to go from home, and being uncertain whether I could return in time for the post. I have now opened my letter to acknowledge yours, which had anticipated much of what I had said. The morning paper tells me that about 100 members of the House of Commons were present; but certainly it would have been not only decorous but proper to have circulated a notice to both Houses, as soon as it was ascertained that the Commission could not be signed. I observe that it is the tone of the Ministers in both Houses to promise a speedy recovery."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to LORD GRANVILLE.

1810, November 2. Gosfield.—"I could not have imagined that Ministers would have been so careless as they have been on the subject of the King's signature to the prorogation commission: a carelessness that has told to all the world that which they had succeeded in keeping secret; and that has imposed on Parliament the necessity for meeting this question on the 14th instant, when it is hardly possible that (even if the attack is ever so mild) the King should be in a state to exercise his royal duties. It is impossible to argue upon the conduct of men, who certainly act in this as in every other matter from the impulse of the moment, and not from system; but if I could suppose that they had reflected I should say that they were satisfied that the attack was very violent, and the prospect of recovery very questionable and

remote. This persuasion on their parts would account for their conduct. I conclude that you will be in town on Tuesday, the 13th, and I shall certainly be there to meet you, unless anything intervenes to make us think right to stay away, which is barely possible, but not probable.

"I have heard from various quarters the reports of the King's attack; and I think it seems clear that it is more violent than the last and less so than the insanity of 1788; and the general tone of the faculty is very desponding on the extent, or the period of his recovery. I do not believe that the whole of this attack originates with his uneasiness for Princess Amelia; for *I know* that there were jealousies on this subject in the month of June, and I certainly heard of it again in the beginning of October. The whole of the political question is so totally changed from that of 1788, that very little of what then passed as applicable to the case of the King at 50, can apply to him at 72, though the great leading features do not materially differ. I shall, however, be very sorry to see again the necessity of the *Act* to enable the Chancellor and other Ministers to open the Parliament; though I fear that under the former precedent this will be to be done; and it would for that reason be unwise to press against it, though my opinion was even then against it. However, we shall have full time to talk over the great variety of awkwardness which is to be produced by this event, if the King does not recover in a reasonable time; and perhaps the worst of anything that can happen would be, that partial recovery that would leave him nearly in the last stage of Shakespeare's 'eventful history' sans everything!"

LORD AUCKLAND TO THE SAME.

1810, November 5. Eden Farm.—"I understand that so late as nine o'clock this morning, the expected news from Portugal had not yet arrived. The King's Government continues to believe that Massena and his army are starving, and that they must make a desperate and dangerous attack in order to try to get bread to eat. I hardly know how to wish that there were more foundation for such an idea, than what I believe to exist. If we should (which I do not expect) gain any colourable advantage, which we shall puff into a glorious victory, it would tend only to the wild waste of more lives and of more money."

Private.—"What I am going to mention is from good authority. The declaration of the Minister on the 1st instant that the King's speedy recovery might be expected, was grounded on an opinion given by Dr. Simmons. The King some days previous to the avowed derangement, but nevertheless to a certain degree deranged, had said to Halford and Baillie, that he felt himself not well, and that he desired promises from them to attend him in case he should grow worse.

This was connected with the dislike which persons afflicted with that terrible malady so often bear towards those who have attended them in former instances, and it appears that he had taken an antipathy to Simmons, and still more to young Simmons. And on Thursday or Friday last, the Queen wrote to the Ministers and expressed a wish that Simmons might not be employed further. In the meantime and previously (in the beginning of the week) Simmons had been employed, and consulted, and had thought proper to say that, if the King were treated exactly in the same manner as in the former case, he had no doubt of a recovery ; but that, if there were any difference in the mode of treatment, he could not answer for the consequences. I understand in the result, that the Ministers press the Queen to continue to employ Simmons. I do not find that Monroe has been consulted.

“If there should be no material variation before the 15th, it is supposed that the debate may turn on the expediency of adjournment for a certain number of days.

“Lord Dartmouth’s death opens a scene of much domestic distress. He leaves 11 or 12 children. His estates are improving and considerable, but so settled by his father, that there is no power to raise money for the children.

“The Duke of Argyle has in full form notified his intended marriage to Lady Paget, in a letter to Lord Frederic Campbell.”

Private. LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, November 7. Eden Farm.—“I transcribe the enclosed note from a friend whose name you will easily guess, and who probably had seen both Mr. Perceval and Mr. Ryder an hour or two before he wrote to me, and he is personally intimate with them.

“‘Tuesday, 6th November.—The event of last week made it incumbent on me to come to town, and I am unwilling to go away without giving you some sign of my having been here.

“‘The King, by private accounts, is amending more rapidly and effectually than the physicians think right to put into their signed bulletins ; for fear, I suppose, of a relapse.

“‘We go back to-morrow, but (I suppose) to return next week, for one (or more) days.’

“I suspect that the above was written before 12 o’clock, and before the arrival of the morning bulletin ; and, even in that supposition, I apprehend it to be one of those sanguine expectations to which the present Government is so liable.

“Lord Berwick marries Miss Wellesley.”

EARL GREY to THE SAME.

1810, November 9. Howick.—“I delayed answering your first letter in the expectation of hearing from you again, and

not without some hope that any further consideration of the subject which occasioned it might, for the present at least, become unnecessary.

“That which I received from you last night, together with the intelligence of the actual meeting of Parliament on the first, has confirmed my worst fears, and forces us to enter on the most embarrassing question that I ever was placed under the necessity of discussing. It is so embarrassing to me, whatever view I take of it, that if I thought I could do so without discredit, I should be much inclined to keep out of the way.

“You may be assured that on this, as on every other occasion, my first desire will be to avoid all recurrence to former differences of opinion, and I feel a strong disposition to believe that a sense of public duty may concur with this desire in prescribing to me an acquiescence in an established though, I may think, an erroneous precedent, where the evils of a renewed discussion of the questions agitated in 1788 would be so great. But it would not be right to conceal from you that now, that all the heat of that period has not only subsided but has been succeeded by the most cordial attachment to the principal remaining person with whom I differed, my opinion is not less strong than it then was as to the extreme inconvenience and impropriety of the course which was adopted. This opinion I sincerely hope I shall not, by further reflection, find myself compelled to act upon, but it is too deeply rooted, and the case is too important to allow of my saying, without much more deliberation, that I shall not. Even if this can be got over with respect to the mode of opening the Parliament, and vesting the necessary power in a Regent, there will still remain the question as to the restrictions to which that power is to be subjected. This question is undoubtedly materially changed since 1788, and the change is all against the limitations which were then proposed. If I could not consent to them when the King was in the vigour of his life, had not been subject to previous attacks of the same nature, and might be expected to resume his functions with a full capacity to discharge them, how can I yield an assent to them now when all these considerations are reversed, and when the powers reserved would, to a moral certainty, be employed to cripple the government of the Regent, under the pretence of preserving the rights and providing for the eventual restoration of a King, who never can, by possibility, be anything more than a name to enable some of the worst men in the country to secure the government in their own hands? To all this is to be added the extremely critical and dangerous situation of the country, requiring all the strength and security that can be given to its councils.

“With these feelings, I cannot be prepared at once to advise the Prince to acquiesce in all the measures which the precedent of 1788 has sanctioned. The prudent reserve

which you have recommended to him, and a cautious and dignified and, as far as the King is concerned, a feeling and affectionate conduct are indeed highly necessary, and I sincerely hope he may have calmness and steadiness enough to observe them. But this hope, for many obvious reasons, cannot be attended with any great degree of confidence.

“I at present think of setting out on Thursday or Friday ; but it will depend chiefly on Lauderdale, and in some degree on what I may hear in the interval. What a relief it would be if it should put an end to the necessity of setting out at all.

“I think I entirely agree with you on the subject of Portugal ; all the probabilities were, and in my opinion still are, against eventual success there. I have no faith even in the promised victory, and the Ministers seem to me, in their present confident assurances, not a little to resemble the man who sold the bear’s skin before he had killed him. I do not believe that Massena, having it, as it appears to me, in his option, will attack our army, if their situation and his force are as we see them described. It [is], indeed, contrary to all reason he should expose his army to certain destruction, and such should be the result. I could not deny that such a success would be worth the sacrifices we have made for it. But a doubtful or indecisive victory, and protracted operations, I should think little less ruinous (I am not sure they would not be more so) than an immediate defeat.

“I have not plagued you with enquiries, having had frequent accounts of you from others. I rejoice to hear from them as well as from yourself that your health is so much re-established. But with respect to this, I hope you will keep in view the policy, which you recommend for the country, and not endanger by premature exertions what it is of such essential consequence to us all to preserve.”

Private. LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, November 11. Eden Farm.—“On returning yesterday to this place I found another letter from the same quarter to which I lately referred, and with the following expression : ‘We shall not go to town *till Thursday*, and then I believe for that day only.’ This seems to confirm what you had heard, that there will not be a Council on Wednesday, and that Parliament is to be further adjourned.

“George Eden informs me that there is in many members of the House of Commons an avowed and rising disposition to give the Regency without restrictions, on the ground that the whole consideration is very different from what it was in 1788–9.

“The predicament both of the Prince and of the public is at best full of danger and difficulty ; but much probable mischief might be prevented if he would decidedly turn his

back on those who will try to mislead him at Windsor, and receive and follow good advice.

"I shall feel solicitous to ascertain that you are quite well again, and at liberty to have the benefit of another quiet fortnight at Dropmore."

EARL GREY to THE SAME.

1810, November 20. Portman Square.—"I am going to-morrow, for a few days, into Sussex, which will prevent my paying you a visit, as I had intended, at Dropmore this week. If you should remain there so long, and it should be convenient to you then to receive us, Lauderdale and I propose being with you on Monday next.

"I think it probable, however, that you may not find it expedient to defer your return to London much beyond that day. It seems now to be the universal opinion that something must be done when the two Houses next meet, and I have good reason for believing, unless a degree of amendment which does not seem probable should previously take place, that the Privy Council will be generally summoned for the examination of the physicians on the 28th. For this, as well as for the measures which may be expected to follow, we should be prepared.

"With this view I have desired George Ponsonby, Tierney, and Adam, to take the necessary measures for procuring as good an attendance as possible of our friends in the House of Commons; and I hope you will do the same thing with respect to the House of Lords. It is the more necessary as the manner in which the business went off in both Houses on Thursday last, was calculated to leave an impression that upon their re-assembling nothing material was likely to be done.

"Our differences of opinion, I think, cannot occupy much time, and there is perhaps a chance that the proceedings of the House of Commons, where I conclude the first steps will be taken, may prevent their being brought into action at all. With respect to restrictions, I am convinced from all I hear that the public opinion is so decidedly against them that this question will be settled at once in the way in which I think it ought to be decided; and if the form adopted in 1788 should be adhered to, all that I shall feel it necessary to do will be to make one speech, and to give a vote against it.

"I have had some good opportunities of knowing what has been passing at Carlton House, and every thing I have heard is as satisfactory as possible. What Lord Moira did was certainly entirely from himself, and without any authority whatever. He has not seen the Prince, I believe, more than once, then not alone, and is now [out] of town. I have myself had no communication or message of any kind, and, of course, have made no attempt to break in upon the prudent reserve

which the Prince has prescribed to himself. He sees, I understand, a good deal of Lord Yarmouth.

“The accounts from Portugal are still very sanguine, and Dumourier swears that Massena cannot extricate himself from his present difficulties without immense loss. I must, however, beg leave to doubt, notwithstanding all these great authorities. The French were still on the 10th neither starved nor retreating, and in the meantime demands have come upon us for the supply of the armies and the population of Lisbon, which have astonished all the departments; 2,500,000*lbs.* of salt beef, 500,000*lbs.* of biscuit to be sent immediately, and everything else in proportion. Lord Wellington, I understand, is under some apprehension that the siege of Cadiz may be raised, and Victor’s corps brought to co-operate against him.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, November 22. Cleveland Square.—“Tho’ not free entirely from cold, I do not know that I should have been stopped from going to you by the wet or rain of these stormy days, but I find our friends in town so anxious to see you here on Sunday, that I do not think it improbable that upon consideration you will think it right to come after church on that day. Tierney is as desirous as I am that you should do this, because he thinks it absolutely necessary that there should be a meeting of all our Privy Council friends at your house on Monday morning or evening. As the examination is expected to take place on Tuesday, he and I concur in thinking it highly expedient that our friends should be prepared at a meeting to take that *moderated* course in the examination of the physicians which the circumstances of the time render so necessary. His own wish is that no other questions should be asked than what are necessary, and that those should be put only by you; but, be that as it may, concert and preparation are quite indispensable, and that can only be had by Monday’s meeting at your house. If you agree in this opinion, you will direct notes to be left at the houses of all our P[rivy] C[ouncil] friends; they amount to 44, and Tierney thinks 25 will be forthcoming. The only other matter that presses is the question that belongs to the Auditor and Teller. I think the situation of both is very delicate and difficult, because the envy created by those appointments will be sure to give the most invidious interpretation to all that you do or abstain from doing. My own mind is very strongly impressed with the conviction that neither you nor my brother must on any account be seen to turn your official situations in the least degree towards the general course of political hostilities; and if any question should arise on the part of Government by their proposing any practicable course to meet the difficulties of the day, I should wish to see that

course readily and cheerfully adopted by you. If the issue of all supplies to the Army would formally stop after the 29th for want of the sign manual to the Treasury Warrant, that difficulty must be supplied in the best way that it can, by corresponding resolutions of both Houses advising the issue upon the prospect of indemnity; and if the Ministers should be wilful or stupid enough to overlook this, and to press for an adjournment without noticing this, I think you and my brother must take care to state the difficulty to Parliament before they adjourn; you will otherwise have the difficulty to discuss with Ministers during the adjournment, and I cannot but think that it is safer for you to take the security of the two Houses for your future indemnity rather than act on your own sense alone, or on that of the Ministers.

“The only very doubtful point that remains is whether you should or should not communicate with the Treasury on this subject before the day of meeting on the 29th. It would be more agreeable *not* to do so, but is there not a danger of its being reproached to you that, as you must have foreseen the difficulty, you did not previously communicate on it with that Board, with which you are officially connected? These questions are important and difficult, and I hope you will have well thought them over before I see you; my brother too is anxious to see you to talk this matter over with you, in the whole of which he agrees with me in thinking that there is much delicacy and difficulty; tho’ he is decidedly adverse to anything which can be interpreted into a reluctance to extricate the country from this formal and official difficulty of finance. . . .”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1810, November 23. Cleveland Square.—“I avail myself of Watkin’s offer to carry a few words to you. I am just told *confidentially* that the D[uke] of C[larance] has told his brother that there is to be an examination of the doctors on Tuesday before an open P[rivy] Council, but that the P[rince] has as yet had no communication of this from the Ministers; *some* of our friends at C[arlton] House having expressed some anxiety on this subject, I thought it right to let them know that you was apprised of the intended exam[ination], and that I thought it not improbable you might come a little sooner to talk the matter over with our friends, and to do whatever could be done to ensure the necessary temper and moderation which the delicacy of the subject required. I find the doctors are, half of them, to come on Tuesday, and the other half on Wednesday; the impression of the King’s danger continues. . . .

“The *Bulletin*, as you see, is fever after a bad night. Crofts, however, who is brother-in-law to Bailey, has just told Lord G. Leveson that his brother can form no guess as to the time of the K[ing]’s recovery, but has not any apprehensions for

his life. Lady K[eats] told Lord Lansdowne that the Windsor language is to call this *fever* only, meaning to dwell upon some favourable distinction between delirium belonging to fever, and insanity; and she tells him that Willis, when examined, will rest very forcibly on this distinction.

“I have written to Lord Spencer to desire him to come on Sunday, and Lord Lansdowne told me he meant to urge you on the same subject, as he attaches great importance to a sufficient communication of our friends before Council. If I believe what I hear, the Ministers will follow the outline of 1788, meaning to prolong discussion in order to gain time. Lord Hertford says there is nothing to be done by Parliament but to address the Prince to exercise the Royal Authority during the illness of the King.”

EARL TEMPLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1810, November. London.]—“You will have heard from Ponsonby the circumstances which have induced me to put off my journey into the country, though most unwillingly. I find the tone of people very much changed since the last relapse, and the language of Ministers is, *to my knowledge*, very desponding. The physicians, too, express themselves less confidently upon the subject of recovery; and, at all events, consider it as an event much further off than they did. All this tends in my mind to add to the difficulties of our situation, which increase in proportion to the postponement of recovery, for recover he will at last. At the same time I have reason to know that even this latter opinion begins to be much less sanguinely held by some who were as strongly inclined to hold it as I am, and have the means of judging of its soundness. The general idea seems to be that the physicians will be examined before committees of both Houses. Some are, however, inclined to think that Ministers will again make use of the Privy Council, and upon the examinations taken before it, ground an application to the estates for an order for money. This I can hardly believe; at the same time it will be as well to be prepared for it, and to turn in your mind a protest against this unconstitutional use of the powers of the Council, to be entered upon the Council books. One of the Ministers was quoted to me two days ago as having told my informant that their object was only to get him well enough to appoint his own Regent. Percival is said to have hinted at the necessity of some step of this sort to the King a few days before he was taken ill, and to have very narrowly escaped being thrown out of the window for his presumption.”

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1810, November 24. Eden Farm.—“The Windsor calamity is evidently unabated, and the hopes so solemnly

given to Parliament by the Ministers were at least premature. Under such circumstances, superadded to blindness, and to 73 years of age, it grows at least probable that a Regency must be established. But it will be a sad business for those who are devoted to a responsibility under it, so long as there shall remain any possible speculation of a recovery.

“With respect to Portugal, unless we can believe that Lord Wellington is more short-sighted, more indiscreet, and more presumptuous than any general who ever commanded an army, we must infer that Massena is ‘done up’; a few days more will show.

“There are strong appearances that Cadiz, under the pressure of disease, bad provisions, bad water, bomb-shells, and gun-boats, is beginning to be in a state of peril. Both at Cadiz and in Portugal there continues to be a lamentable waste of British blood and British resources; and in reading Mr. Huskisson’s pamphlet and other pamphlets, it is surprising to see how writers, acute and intelligent in other respects, lay so little stress on the great operative cause. I am more than ever convinced that the total disappearance of specie, and the commercial distresses, are occasioned partly by the foreign expenditure, and partly by the irregular convulsions which the French decrees have given to our trade.

“The Committee report and Mr. Huskisson’s pamphlet assume that there is a *depreciation* of our paper credit: I doubt the fact. It may be true that from the waste of bullion to pay the expences of our mad Continental expenditure, the price of gold may be such that 24*l.* in bank notes is required for the purchase of 21*l.* in gold; but that fact will only prove that we have not gold for exportation adequate to the demand, and consequently that it bears a high price. A wiser system of warfare, with the increased exportation, which the exchanges operating as a bounty would enforce, might soon restore our circulation, and bring back the bullion. I do not mean, however, to say that it is not desirable to use all practicable measures to arrive at the repayment of bank notes in specie; and I quite agree with Huskisson that the axioms of Sir John Sinclair and Mr. Randle Jackson are propositions containing neither truth nor falsehood, the true definition of nonsense. In the meantime (and it aggravates the objections to undertaking a new Government), the mereantile distresses are increasing, and must soon affect the manufacturers.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1810, November 24. Cleveland Square.—“I do not admit your conclusion, neither do I think your reasonings upon it are at all convincing. If you feel the necessity or the expediency of nursing yourself into strength for good service, I have not a word of objection to offer; but supposing you to be well, I can have no doubt that you ought to be here.

As to the bad effect of any meeting of P[rivy] C[ouncillors] at your house, I cannot give the least value to these difficulties which you suggest. The publick are not watching who comes into Camelford House, and if they did, it would be strange, indeed, that they should make no remark upon Members of Parliament going to you by the dozens, and yet that they should be supposed to start at the idea of your seeing those of your friends who are Privy Councillors. What will offend the publick much more will be to hear of any indiscreet zeal or captious course of interrogations has been displayed by any of our friends at Council, and I know not any such likely mode of preventing this as by previous communication with those who are likely to attend, and who must follow their own individual fancies if there is no previous arrangement or understanding had upon the matter.

“I cannot understand Halford’s news of Wednesday and Thursday; how can the examination be had *on Thursday* for the purpose of reporting it and laying it on the table of the two Houses at the meeting on Thursday? The bulletins continue bad, and I now scarce see how Ministers can move to adjourn; and yet I this day hear Wellesley Pole quoted for saying they will adjourn. Lord Grey comes to-morrow. I suppose by your letter we shall see you on Monday or Tuesday; there is a great difficulty as to having or not having a meeting at Ponsonby’s on Wednesday. Many will be angry if there is none, and some if there is one. I am rather against it.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, November 26. Cleaveland Square.—“I am truly vexed to find from such good authority that you are not yet as stout as you ought to be for the pressure of publick business. We get old and infirm before our time, for there is my brother with an arm unaccountably swollen, and without sleep or rest from the fever of the swelling; perhaps this effort of nature may be salutary, and may do more for him than Latham, whom I have left with him.

“I do not in the least degree differ with you in respect to the wisdom and necessity of our holding back and keeping quiet, and my only wish for you here was for the purpose of effectually inculcating that opinion, and fixing it in the minds of others. F—— has just been with me from Lord Grey, and he describes the conversation of Portman Square to be that nothing can be done *unless the P[rince] should hold up his hand to help*. I own I still think that the P[rince] can do nothing usefully for himself, his friends, or the country, but by continuing passive and reluctant instead of active and eager. The bad bulletins of this day will not help the notion of adjournment; but Lord Stair quotes that great politician Tom Stepney for saying that Lord Winchelsea had told him *this morning*, that there was to be *no P[rivy] Council*

examination. Fawkner told me last night that he had as yet received no orders for any summons, but that the general report and expectation was that the P[rivy] C[ouncil] would have an examination on Wednesday and Thursday, for which he supposed he should receive the orders to-day, but he is quite at a loss how or where they can assemble, as the office is not large enough for the attendance of more than one-third. The P[rince] is returned from Windsor this moment, but I know nothing of the report from thence beyond the bulletins."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1810, November 26.] Cleveland Square.—“I am just *confidentially* told by my friend at Carlton House that it was owing to the folly of M. A. Taylor that an alarm was given there of Lord Grey’s having *returned to the country*, and a messenger was despatched *to you* to try to stop him. They have now found out that Lord Grey is only going to Woolbeding, and I am desired to prevent you from writing at all to Lord Grey. All this must be secret, as it is very much wished that nothing may be supposed to pass from Carlton House; but it is satisfactory to find that the apprehension of Lord Grey’s return to Northumberland, tho’ unfounded, produced great alarm and uneasiness. The P[rince] returns to Windsor to-day at six, to stay there; he has not seen Lord Moira, but has written to him; he has seen nobody else except Tyrwhitt and Taylor. The bulletin is not yet come, but D[uke] of Cumberland has told the P[rince] that there were three or four hours’ sleep, but a restless and unquiet night. I am *confidentially* told from Elizabeth that Mrs. Fielding’s tone yesterday was of great uneasiness about the King’s fever, which she described as a fever of *illness* and not of the brain.

“I had some conversation with Lord Ellenborough, who professed his *entire* ignorance of *Parliamentary* law, but gave it as his opinion that on the 29th the *Parliament*, then meeting on the day to *which it was prorogued*, was *legally competent* to proceed to all its ordinary business; Lord E[llenborough] said he knew that this was not *Parliament law*, but it was his legal opinion and that of *his brother judges*, and that he suspected from the Chancellor’s language to him that this idea was not out of the contemplation of Government. He so often repeated his ignorance of *Parliamentary law* that I found it hopeless and useless to try to convince him, first, that *there is no prorogation to the 29th*, and secondly that without the King, there can be *no Parliament*, tho’ there may be a *convention*. What can he mean? Is it possible that they can mean to give to the two Houses on the 29th the character of an ordinary and legal meeting by regular prorogation? Can they hope in this way to obviate the difficulty of the Army pay, which presses hard upon them, as Lord B[uckingham]

says from Astle that they cannot go on without a new issue longer than the 29th? I find a very growing opinion that there is a great probability that the K[ing] will not survive this attack, and my Carlton House friend has just told me that *he knows of his own certain knowledge* that Dr. Hebereden thinks the King will probably not survive this attack. From the same quarter I learn that the *Curaçoa* has just come in with a privateer that they have captured, commanded by the 1st Lieutenant of the famous *Sarcouf*, who tells them that Junot is ordered to Paris to be tried for having disobeyed Marshal Ney's orders in the battle of Busaeo; the Captain of the *Curaçoa* says that there is a constant and daily coast supply sent to Bilboa and from thence regularly convoyed from post to post to the frontiers of Portugal; moreover, the present prevailing opinion is that Massena will certainly succeed in establishing an intercourse with the Alentejo. My brother has a letter from George, of 3rd, from Cadiz, where the French force of gun-boats is becoming formidable. George is going with young Grattan for a month to Africa, and then to Lisbon. Lord Lansdowne wants me to come down to you with him on Friday, and I think I shall. . . ."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, November 30. [Cleveland Square.]—"Lord Lansdowne approves of a protest in the H[ouse] of Lords, and thinks it useful to recur again in some way to your objections to the Privy Council proceedings, and to their swindling artifice in their additional question to the physicians; but he has some doubts as to the policy of our refusing to attend another examination of physicians, if another shall take place; he suggests for consideration whether it may not be more advisable for us to state their conduct, (and the decision of Parliament in referring entirely to the Privy Council Report,) as reasons which induce us at Council to depart from our former course of silence, and to pursue on our part at Council a more detailed examination of the physicians. It is true in theory and in principle that the misconduct of Ministers, and the unconstitutional dereliction in Parliament of its duties, cannot strictly justify us in Council for exceeding what we consider as the limits of our duty in Council; but it may be replied that both the Council and the Parliament having decided, differently from us, as to the nature of our duty in Council, nothing is left for us but to render the execution of that duty more perfect; and we might be authorised to pursue that course of examination by the decision of the two Houses of Parliament having been to leave the examination of the physicians entirely to the Privy Council. I wish to know what you think of this; as far as I have considered it, I incline to think that good use may be made of this suggestion, if another examination shall take place. Fitzpatrick

has just seen a friend of Warburton, the mad doctor, to whom W[arburton] had just said that all guesses are and must be uncertain, but that *his guess* would be that about six weeks would put an end to the state of insanity, after which he *rather expected* that the constitution would be exhausted and drop into a weakness of intellect. Symonds has in *strict confidence* given the same opinion to *the man* who has been attending the swoln arm in Pall Mall; but this last must not be quoted.

“A Bristol ship from the Tagus on the 17th brings news of Massena having begun his retreat on the 14th, pursued by Lord Wellington; if there is any truth in this, it will arrive officially this evening.”

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1810, December 1. Eden Farm.—“I trust that in the course of yesterday you abandoned the smoke, embarrassments (*latine ‘opes’*) and noise of London; and that at this hour you have all the benefit and enjoyment of a clear sunshine at Dropmore.

“The Ministers appear to have spurred their majority to a high and hazardous leap. It is a mistake to suppose that their responsibility is removed by the subserviency of Parliament. If the King’s amendment should not go forward, or if there should be more truth in Massena’s despatch of the 3rd November than what I believe to be in Lord Wellington’s despatch of that date; and, still further, if it shall appear before the end of the fortnight that nothing but calamity, or disgrace, or both, is to be expected from our Continental follies; the meeting of the 13th will probably be a *coup de grace* to the present system of folly and falsehood.

“So far as the unfortunate situation of the King is in question, it appears to me that the Ministers have made a sort of conditional capitulation; saving, of course, to themselves the faculty of breaking it, if it be possible.

“You appear to have made a happy and palpable hit in your classical retort to Lord Harrowby.

“On the whole, though the adjournment in a constitutional view is most disgraceful to Parliament, there are many obvious reasons for feeling not sorry that it was proposed and carried.

“George Eden and Mr. William Elliot are to be here on Monday, when I shall know the general impression of the House of Commons better than from the newspapers.

“Massena has no apparent motive for exaggerating the advantages and security of the situation, and if it be true that he is abundantly provisioned, and is expecting a great reinforcement, we shall within a short period learn that our army and the people of Lisbon are in danger of famine on every change of wind.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, December 3. Cleveland Square.—“I received the enclosed from Lord Moira last night; and I shewed it in *confidence* to Lord Grey, who was with me, and who did not wish to pay much regard to it. I enclose to you a copy of my answer to Lord Moira, in which, as you see, I do not consider this as more than a *report*, and profess to mean to state it to you as such. My own belief is that they are very uneasy at Carlton House in the sense of the very weak state in which they have put themselves by their own weak conduct; and now that they see all their friends dispersing, they have trumped up this report in hopes of keeping more together. This alone I should not much object to; but I confess I do not like to give any encouragement to the oblique courses of communication which they seem still disposed to follow; if they are really foolish enough to be afraid of the Ministers doing an act with the King's sign manual, which would not be good for anything when they had done it, why do they not state their fears to you or to Grey, and consult upon the proper steps to be taken? All this I had meant to have sent by the post, but recollecting that Grey goes to-morrow, I have sent my groom in order that he may return to-night with anything that you may wish to say to Grey upon this subject. He is still very feverish upon it; I agree with him in thinking that your assistance and his must be asked before it is given, but there is some danger that he may put into this just course of thinking and acting, more acid than is necessary or convenient.”

Enclosure :

THE EARL OF MOIRA to THOMAS GRENVILLE.

“Benwell the coachmaker has applied to me for some pecuniary aid, stating that you know his distress, and wish to recommend him for assistance. As I am totally unacquainted with him, allow me to refer myself to you for information.

“Steps should be immediately taken for ensuring an attendance on the 13th. Our ranks were assuredly much less compleat than they might easily have been on the late question. I have information which I believe to be correct, and which you may communicate to Lord Grenville, but it should not be publicly circulated. The Chancellor is trying to get the King brought to London, as a procedure which would in general conception imply a marked improvement of the King's health. If any favourable interval will give a plea for asserting the King's being in possession of his intellect for the moment, they will get his signature to a Commission empowering the Prince with others to conduct certain of the ordinary operations of Government. If they cannot get this out of the King, then they will introduce the same provision

in form of a Bill to the two Houses. Of course no time is to be lost in adverting to what should be done in such circumstances, and especially in convening friends. I cannot give you this as positive, or I should have called on Lord Grenville about it. But I credit it; I must beg you not to quote me for it (except to Lord G[renville]), lest it should be traced who imparted it."

EARL TEMPLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1810,] December 4. Grosvenor Street.—"I have just received a letter from an officer on Wellington's staff, dated Cartaxo, November 21st, from which I send you the following extract, from which you will draw your own conclusions.

" 'The French are in a most formidable position at Santarem, with, I believe, almost all their force. We have an equally strong one on hills, three miles on this side of the enemy. The sentries are close to each other. There, I conceive, he will remain for the winter, *as he has provisions both of corn and cattle*. You will see by Lord Wellington's letter he was near attacking, *fortunate it was for his fame he did not*. Things will now probably remain in *statu quo* for the winter.'

"From this it should appear that both felt the impossibility of remaining in their position before Lisbon and that, fortunately for W[ellington], Massena was tired out first. He has now retreated upon his magazines, and will probably wait for his reinforcements. As the Tagus narrows so rapidly in his rear, his communication with the Alentejo cannot be prevented, as I conclude our gun-boats cannot get so high up to act with effect. I cannot say that this news gives me any spirits. The result will now be delayed till the Spring probably, and *you* will have to decide upon the question of another campaign, with the conviction that, if you determine not to undertake it, that decision will be interpreted into an entire surrender of our best objects to the enemy. This does not add to *les délices* of your prospects."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1810, December 4. Cleveland Square.—"I enclose to you the answer from Lord Moira, by which it is evident how keenly this subject is felt in Pall Mall. Lord Grey told me yesterday that in the course of that day he had received a letter from L[ord] M[oir]a to the same effect with that sent to me on the preceding evening; and he said that his answer had been to the same purport with that which I had sent, adding, however, that he himself was obliged to return to the North. He goes to-day, and Lauderdale, who had meant to have accompanied him, stays in town, which may be useful if anything should be done. Lady Harrowby told Lord Carlisle

yesterday that she believed the K[ing] would come to B[uckingham] House as this day or to-morrow; Mrs. Fitz[herbert] however quoted the P[rince] as having assured her that the apartment was prepared in consequence of the King's having asked if it was in readiness, but that there was no intention of moving him. Charles tells me that at the Sec[retary] of State's office, there has been great reference to the models of former Regency Bills; my own suspicion is that the K[ing]'s amendment will be stated on the 13th as a ground for further adjournment, and that Resolutions of the House or some such device will be resorted to to cure the immediate difficulty of authorising the issue of money.

"With respect to the Portugal news, it is evidently bad enough; if you read the 'Official Bulletin' in the *Times*, copied from that of the *Courier*, you will see that they have excluded from the *Gazette* the most interesting part of the news, namely, that Lord W[ellington] thinks Massena is *not* retreating from Portugal, but is maintaining an impregnable position at Santarem *to wait for the re-inforcements which, Lord W[ellington] says, he knows are on the frontiers*. I am told that they know that Mortier is on his march, and that 5,000 of Drouet's corps had arrived at Almeida. Gordon told Grey that Hill had recrossed the Tagus. General Ross says that he is sure that Massena will take Abrantes; it is all bad enough."

Two letters enclosed.

Enclosure (1):

LORD GRENVILLE to THOMAS GRENVILLE.

1810, December 3. Dropmore.—"I am much obliged to you for your note, and I will beg you to thank Lord Moira in my name for this interesting communication. I am much inclined to credit it. The step would be illegal it is true, but not more so than those which are daily taken by carrying on the King's government during his avowed incapacity.

"If they get his name to such a commission, I have no doubt that Parliament might be brought to refuse its sanction to it. But then this could only be done by the open and avowed co-operation of all those who are desirous of defeating such a measure. And of the difficulties in the way of this you are not ignorant.

"As it is, it seems much more likely that our attendance next time will be worse than the last, and that the Ministers will carry that or any other measure they propose with even greater facility than the last adjournment." *Copy.*

Enclosure (2):

THE EARL OF MOIRA to THE SAME.

1810, December 3.—"I return to you Lord Grenville's letter, with many thanks. The Prince would undoubtedly

declare his conviction of the illegality of such a commission so as that his name might be no sanction to it. A protest of that nature on his part would probably have much effect. No surmise of such a step being in his contemplation should get abroad, for it would not be expedient to put the Ministers on their guard against an error which might be decisive in its consequences towards the intrusion of their unconstitutional power."

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, December 7. Eden Farm.—"George Eden informs me that some Ministerial people talk confidentially of proposing to Parliament to give the delegation of the sign manual to the Lord Privy Seal. Certainly the name of such a dictator would go far towards sanctifying such a dictatorship; and the Ministers are bold enough (or at least blind enough) to propose anything; and their majority is steady enough to vote anything; still, I cannot seriously believe that they will risk so strange a proposal.

"If the bulletin of yesterday shall not be followed by a more favourable account to-day, I shall begin to doubt whether it will be practicable either to prorogue or to adjourn.

"Though the Government newspapers continue to write rapturous descriptions of our triumphant position in Portugal, I understand from George that the general tone is greatly lowered; and it begins to be felt that Massena by his last movement has lessened his own dangers and difficulties, and has increased those of Lord Wellington.

"Surely something should be done on the subject of those Scotch marriages and Scotch divorces; if their validity as contended for should be acknowledged, there will be a dissolution of all the moral and sacred ties of civilised society. A question is now started whether the doctrine may not be carried so far as by a Scotch marriage to legitimate issue born before marriage. Lord Wellesley may be pleased with this; Mr. Wellesley Pole would not like it quite so well."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

[1810, December 8. Cleveland Square.]—"Before this relapse the doctors had talked confidently of the K[ing] seeing the Ministers before the 13th; but the two bulletins of yesterday and this day seem to extinguish this hope, as there are now only five days left.

"I am told from what seems good authority, that this last mischief has been a bowel complaint, which, if not stopped, produces danger by weakness, and, if stopped, affects the head. I saw, however, a note from Vaughan, dated this day, in which he says he does not write much about Watkin, as he expects to see him *in town very shortly*; this means either

Vaughan's continued hope of speedy recovery or the removal to B[uckingham] House, or both. I hear of the P[rince] being low; he went to Windsor yesterday, and is returned. I saw Lord Cholmondeley just now driving in, but I know nothing latterly of the language of Carlton House. . . ."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, December 10. Cleveland Square.—"The daily bulletin is much the same as yesterday, with very little sleep. The private reports that circulate from the physicians still speak of hopes of recovery, and attribute the present relapse to a *bilious attack*, which, till it is removed, affects the head, but which will soon be removed, and then the K[ing] will regain the very advanced state of recovery which he had reached before his bilious disorder. The notes from Government for attendance are pressing; and as I am told, do in their second edition express no doubt of proceeding to important business. If to-day and to-morrow's bulletin had been prosperous, I expected another P[rivy] C[ouncil] examination as a sufficient ground to Lords and Commons for a short adjournment; in that case Lord Lansdowne and Tierney and some others would, I believe, have certainly proposed more extensive questions in Council, reserving their former protest, but grounding their questions upon the decision already made by Council, and upon the two Houses having determined to accept the P[rivy] C[ouncil] Report as a sufficient foundation for the two Houses to proceed upon; perhaps, too, such a course would have become the more necessary, as there was a great chance that the Ministers would not then have given a Parliamentary examination of the physicians, so that the Council might have become the only channel of any examination whatever. But as things now stand, I can hardly believe they will venture to refuse a Parliamentary examination, and therefore I conclude they will not hamper themselves with the addition of that at the P[rivy] C[ouncil] unless it could be substituted for that in Parliament. I have a letter from Lord Spencer, in which he doubts whether he shall leave Althorp under all the present circumstances; and I shall write to-day to say that upon the whole I cannot help wishing him here from the importance of the moment, tho' certainly not from the general ground of party politics: I wish him here, because both he and you have great duties to perform without any reference to Regent or Prince. The little that I hear of C[arlton] House continues to speak the influence of the D[uke] of C[umberland] in those walls, and there was yesterday an audience of *three hours* given to the *Chancellor* at Carlton House, which is *supposed* to have been confined entirely to discussions of the *Princess Amelia's will*. It is probably on the *same business* that the Ch[ancello]r and the D[uke] of C[umberland] have twice in

the last week dined *tête à tête* at the St. Alban's Tavern. I am likewise informed this morning from the best authority that in a conversation which the P[rince] had with Adair at C[arlton] H[ouse] on Friday last, he spoke with complaint and bitterness of Opposition, and quoted his father for having told him that they had *all* betrayed him the P[rince] to him the K[ing], with the single exception of Lord Erskine. This is so odd a confidence that I should scarce have believed it if I had not had it from undoubted authority. Tierney tells me he just now met Lord Moira, and asked him what course he believed Ministers would take, and that Lord M[oir]a most significantly and strenuously squeezed him by the hand, and stalked away in all the silence of Lord Burleigh. All these facts are a positive demonstration of the length to which the P[rince] has carried his principle of exclusion on one side, and on one side only, and I cannot but conceive that it is now determined to make a Regency with the assurance of keeping the present Ministers, a result very much that which I might have thought the best course, provided that result had been produced through a different course of advice and advisers.

"Still, however, I presume you will not hesitate to come and deliver your opinion, tho' there can be no temptation to challenge a party attendance, or a party prosecution of this question under the circumstances in which it now stands placed. I have not thought myself at liberty to quote the facts that I mention to any other person but to yourself."

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1810, December 11. Eden Farm.—"The bulletins are now industriously involved in obscurity by vague references to preceding days, and by comparatives applied to unknown positives. Perhaps you have some better information. I will, however, transcribe a note which I have just seen from a Ministerial source.

"It will now, I am afraid, be impossible either to prorogue Parliament, or to adjourn further without an examination, but I hope that the evidence of the physicians when received will still be such as to afford a tenable ground of adjournment, without any other proceeding. The language in the Castle on Saturday was as sanguine as ever."

"In the meantime the Prince of Wales was yesterday reported to have symptoms of gout in the stomach.

"I am told that there is an immediate embarrassment about the issue of money for the army; and that something novel is to be risked, and to be submitted hereafter to Parliament, but this is not from so good authority as the other paragraph.

"They write from Scotland (I suppose not seriously) that the Duke and Duchess of Argyll have invited Lord and Lady Paget to pass the honeymoon altogether at Inverary."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, December 11. [Cleveland Square.]—"The bulletin is better, and yet by F[remantle]'s letter to my brother, there was not the least amendment as late as four o'clock yesterday evening.

"Tucker called upon me this morning, evidently detached by T. from C[arlton] H[ouse]. He tells me that no communication has been made to the P[rince], and that the P[rince] protests that he has had *no* conversation with the Ch[ancellor] upon *politicks*; but that he *now finds* that it is intended by Ministers on Thursday to move resolutions in the two Houses to direct the Great and Privy Seal to be put to warrants for the issue of publick money; he added that the P[rince] was furious at this, and was determined to *oppose* it as well as he could, and also that T. was solicitous to know when you came to town. I was not much warmed by this lamentable tale, and said that the day before the meeting was rather late for beginning to assemble a force in Parliament, and that the bare fact, which was notorious, of the intercourse which the P[rince] had held with the present Chancellor would probably lead many persons to speculate on that fact, and must induce many to suppose that there was at least a disposition at C[arlton] H[ouse] to communicate with the present Ministers, and that a circumstance of this kind could not fail of operating in some degree to lessen the chance of any great attendance for opposition to Government.

"Tucker admitted all this, and lamented it, renewing his assurances of the most distinct declarations of the P[rince] having had no communication with Ministers, and being determined to oppose this measure, and having accordingly sent for Lord St. V[incent] and others to come to town immediately.

"I write you all this because I suppose you will receive the post before you go: but except the curiosity of the narrative, it has nothing else in it at all interesting. If the P[rince] wants concert with you and assistance from you, he must say so; if he does not, you must restrain yourself within the limits of your individual duty and the circle of your own political friends. My expectation is that the P[rince] will find himself bare of all means of resistance, and therefore that he will not resist. I hope you will mob the Ministers for having adjourned Parliament till they had no time left to deliberate on the very novel questions now to be proposed to them. . . ."

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

[1810, December 14.] Eden Farm.—"The three last bulletins hold out some probability that the Government may again resume a frail existence, and go forwards with the

same imbecility of character and conduct, and with the same integrity of Parliamentary support. If this should *not* be the *case*, it is become pretty evident from the Carlton House demonstrations, that there will be a change; and that change cannot be for the worse. On the whole, the Prince may be obliged, and perhaps disposed, to throw himself fairly on you to form a Government; at any rate, and under all the circumstances, it is desirable that you should ponder this possibility in your mind.

“With respect to the proposed restrictions, I apprehend that the giving of peerages for a limited period must be restrained, and the custody of the person of course must be with the Queen; but surely the period as to every point but the last might properly be curtailed to four months; and I am not aware of any good objections to the appointments (and dismissals) of the household (with two or three exceptions, perhaps) being left with the Regent.

“I am sorry that I shall not hear your victorious pleadings for the precedent of 1789. I am satisfied that you have the best side of that question, even if it were entirely new, and perhaps it may be doubted whether the mode by Bill will in effect produce more delay than would attend the proposed address, which must be followed by Bills to give life and activity to the Regency.

“I have a few lines to-day from Lord Grey to say that, on account of Lady Grey, he has no chance of arriving during the discussions. I collect from what he says that he is decidedly against restrictions.

“In the meantime all the best interests of the country, in the Baltic, in Portugal, in Spain, in America, and at home, are going from bad to worse, from day to day.”

Quite private. THE SAME to THE SAME.

1810, December 16. Eden Farm.—“When the unhappy malady took place at Windsor, I foresaw that the Duke of Marlborough, from sympathy of years and other obvious considerations, would be extremely sensitive respecting the eventual measures in Parliament; and when Mr. Eden (and your nephew) appeared in the small division which Sir Francis Burdett forced on the first day, I was sure that it would furnish a handle to Mr. Ashley and others who are now hourly at Marlborough House, and are pressing on the Duke’s mind the importance of what they call ‘a loyal support to the King.’ Accordingly, about ten days ago the Duke, in a short note, ‘lamented that Mr. Eden had voted with Burdet, and that the King would be hurt by it, when well enough to learn it.’ I gave a general and kind answer, which was acknowledged by the last night’s post, with an explicit regret, for Mr. Eden’s sake, that ‘as a member of the House of Commons he was adverse to the

present Ministers,' civilly closing the note with a wish that 'I would turn the subject in my mind.' After an hour's reflection, I wrote the reply of which Lady Auckland has made the enclosed copy. I entreat you to peruse it, and to return it to me at your convenience. I shall not be surprised if Mr. Eden should give up the seat, though I think that he ought not to do so at present. He must have gone, at all events, in a few days to the Lancashire and Yorkshire Sessions, and is clearly warranted in keeping the consideration open as long as may suit his own wishes; I should think at least to the end of the Session. It is a vexatious but unavoidable incident.

"I heard to-day, through no bad authority, that the Ministers begin to admit that a Regency must be established; still, however, as they say, with such fair hopes of an early recovery, that they can trust to the Regent not to do so unpopular an act as to make any changes. I cannot believe that the Prince will be the dupe of this little game, or that he will longer hesitate to consult those who alone can enable him to attempt to extricate the Empire from its dangers and difficulties."

Confidential. LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, December 19. Eden Farm.—"I must give another little interruption to you on the subject of my last; I received this morning a short note from my good old friend, clearly written alone and *proprio motu*, and as clearly not under the influence which had caused the former letter. He merely expresses his concern that 'he is unable to write as fully as he could wish; and then adverts, quite affectingly, to his own feelings on reading my letter, and then concludes in terms of the warmest kindness respecting me and mine.' In the meantime I have learnt through a channel which we found so efficiently favourable in the Oxford election, that this little ebullition was caused by an application from Mr. Ashley to Government to obtain a living for a clergyman who certainly has had great merit by his long and personal services in the house. Still I regard that application as falling within the chapter of small political intrigue. George Eden is not yet returned from Burnham, but I hope to see him here to-night. The independent spirit of young men is such that I am not without apprehension he may have less managements than he may honourably and consistently maintain. If he should not be imprudent, the cavil against him is already defeated.

"It is not, as you seem to believe, the general opinion that Mr. Perceval means to propose the establishment of a Regency by address. It had been intimated to the Sidmouths that the mode will be as before, by Bill. In whatever point of view I consider the business, I see nothing but what is gloomy and comfortless. It was not easy even before this last calamity

to picture to one's own mind a Government more inadequate to the great interests at stake, and to all the dangers and difficulties which are impending ; but, if that Government is to be continued in the same desperate line of measures with all the weakness of such a Regency superadded, I see no bounds to the mischiefs which may ensue.

"It is thought that to-morrow Mr. Perceval will only open his resolutions, and will take the debate on Friday.

"I have seen the copy of a letter by the last arrivals from a general officer in Portugal ; it speaks very doubtfully of the impregnable position."

THE PEERS OF ROYAL BLOOD to SPENCER PERCIVAL.

1810, December 19. Carlton House.—"The Prince of Wales having assembled the whole of the male branches of the Royal Family and having communicated to us the plan intended to be proposed by his Majesty's confidential servants to the Lords and Commons for the establishment of a restricted Regency, should the continuance of his Majesty's ever-to-be-deplored illness render it necessary ; we feel it a duty we owe to his Majesty, to our country, and to ourselves to enter our solemn protest against measures that we consider as perfectly unconstitutional as they are contrary to and subversive of the principles that seated our family upon the throne of these realms."

Signed,

FREDERICK.

WILLIAM.

EDWARD.

ERNEST.

AUGUSTUS FREDERICK.

ADOLPHUS FREDERICK.

WILLIAM FREDERICK.

Copy.

Private. LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, December 20. Eden Farm.—"On recollection, I am aware that I made a stupid mistake. When you talked in your note of opposing 'the motion' to proceed by address, you evidently meant 'the amendment to be proposed to the motion to proceed by Bill.' I wish to say to you in perfect sincerity, that though I am desirous not to intermix in the Regency discussions, to which from the actual want of any house in town I cannot give a connected attendance ; and though I cannot sit through a long debate without a risk of losing that state of health, which I have at last re-established, I will, nevertheless, if you think it material and wish it, attend and vote with you on the question to proceed by Bill ; and, at any rate, I can send my proxy to you if it can be given.

"George Eden came to this place last night from Burnham, and left me this morning. From living much with Lord Lansdowne he had some leaning to the doctrine 'by

address'; but on my mentioning your committed opinions, and intended opposition to that doctrine, he said that he would seek out Lord Temple, and that if your particular friends and connections in the House of Commons would act together on this occasion, and not separate as in a late occasion, he would most gladly divide with them. He showed me a letter from Lord Francis Spencer, who remains at Blenheim, and invites him for some days there. It appears from the whole tenor of that letter that Lord Francis has no suspicion of the shortlived operation of the little cabal which I mentioned yesterday.

"The foreign clouds multiply and grow blacker. Sweden has declared war; and America seizes our goods on a given day, in order to confiscate them unless we accede to terms, which she no longer solicits but prescribes.

"Lady Auckland desires me to say to Lady Grenville that if you are not going back to Dropmore, and have no better plan for any part of the short recess, we should be most happy to receive you here. The Buckinghamshires leave us on Saturday, and we have no other engagements."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, December 22. Cleveland Square.—"Since you left town there has been a very general belief that Perceval upon the discussion of the restrictions, will compromise, to Wilberforce and others, for the time of six months, instead of twelve months. With respect to the household, he has professed his intention of voting taxes to supply a Regent's household; with respect to the excepting the navy and army from the peerage restriction, he told Charles that he meant to propose this exception in the Regency Bill, but not in the resolutions. I do not see that these new events need add to your embarrassments in regard to the restrictions; if you shall think it necessary to adopt any restrictions, you probably would think six months to come more than double what the occasion might require or justify. I who feel persuaded that the Regent's Government cannot be made strong enough to subsist, as long as the King is weekly expected to recover, I cannot but think that even three months will almost appear to you as objectionable as it does to me; nor do I see how it is possible to arrive at the distinction which you profess to desire between the Regent's Government and the Kingly Government, without weakening that Regent Government which, at the best, will, I believe, be found unequal to its task, even if it be left altogether unfettered; but which, if limited and restricted, will, in my opinion, be placed in a state of absolute dependance upon the present Ministers, the Queen and the Household. After the assertion of your former opinion as to proceeding by Bill, and after the effect which your *volunteer* speech in the H[ouse] of Lords had upon the

division in the House of Commons, you undoubtedly have your hands more free on the question of the limitations, and the dissatisfaction expressed on this occasion by some of the old Opposition, will relieve you from the imputation of having courted them by any temporizing change of your former sentiments. The Household Clause still furnishes to you the obvious objection respecting so large an encrease of expence which the year of 1788 could so much better have admitted than under the severe pressure of 1810; and I do not myself foresee any ground of embarrassment to you in urging that topick, provided you take sufficient care to provide amply for giving to the Queen all the controul and authority necessary to the real domestick ease and comfort of the establishment immediately about the person of the King. The state of the Household must belong to the exercise and display of Royal Authority, and Perceval's proposition in fact is to tax the country for a regal household which cannot be found in any of its State functions as long as the King is incapable of exercising his own Kingly office.

"In regard to the peerage limitation, your former speech puts you under greater difficulties; and if, after serious reflection, you remain honestly of opinion that such a restriction is now for three months as necessary as you had thought it in 1788, you ought perhaps to say so. My own ideas are so adverse to the whole of these restrictions, that I have some difficulty in putting myself into your place in order to judge fairly of your difficulties; but I have at least persuaded myself that the fear of improper motives being ascribed to any change of your sentiments ought not to stand in the way of any change which you truly and honestly feel in your opinions on this matter. The importance of the subject is too great to bend to such considerations if they existed; and I am also satisfied that they do not exist in this case, because you have already dissatisfied some of the Opposition so much, as to provide against any imputation of time-serving to them. They complain loudly of your going out of your way to speak against their division in the H[ouse] of Commons, when the matter was in no shape brought before the H[ouse] of Lords. But whether you decide or not for three months of peerage restriction, I think you have ample ground given you of objection, by the strange exception which the Ministers annex in regard to the army and navy, which appears to me to be too subject to ridicule to have much chance of being carried. The division of the other night seems to have turned the head of Perceval, and if you read his speech in *The Times* with half the indignation that I have felt, I need not comment upon it to you. I cannot bear to think that after making it he should have come out of the House without being formally told that a question of impeachment should be preferred against him as soon as the House was in a situation to entertain and to follow up so serious a charge. The P[rince]

is said to be eager and active, and not dispirited by the last division."

SPENCER PERCEVAL TO H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES.

1810, December [20–25]. Downing Street.—“ His Majesty’s servants humbly presume to think there is one material distinction which presents itself in the consideration of his Majesty’s indisposition in 1789 and at the present time. The subsequent experience of the nature and duration of his Majesty’s complaint seems necessarily to lead to a more confirmed expectation of recovery at a less distant period than what either was felt or could have been felt by Parliament at that time. And his Majesty’s servants have therefore felt themselves bound to regulate the proceedings they are to propose with a view to that circumstance. If unhappily the ardent hopes and prayers of his Majesty’s subjects should be disappointed, the particular provisions which are introduced in the hope and contemplation of a short continuance of the indisposition may reasonably be permitted to cease.

“ The limit of three years which was introduced with respect to the only restriction to which any limit was affixed in the former Bill seems to his Majesty’s servants too extended ; but it has occurred to them that the period of about one twelvemonth from the time of passing the Act would be a proper and reasonable limit to be proposed to any restrictions, provided sufficient care be taken that before the expiration of such restrictions Parliament shall necessarily have been sitting for six weeks, and shall consequently have the opportunity of considering the question ; that it will be the duty of his Majesty’s servants to submit to the two Houses of Parliament a Bill to empower your Royal Highness to exercise the royal authority in the name, and on the behalf of his Majesty, during his Majesty’s illness, and in general to do all acts, which might legally be done by his Majesty ; that such Bill should contain provisions that the custody of his Majesty’s royal person should be entrusted to the Queen, and that her Majesty should be assisted by a council ; that provisions should be made by which the restoration of his Majesty’s health be notified, and the manner of his resuming the exercise of the royal authority be pointed out.

“ That the management of the whole of his Majesty’s household, and the power of appointing the officers and servants of that establishment should, in the first instance, be entrusted to her Majesty ; but that this provision should only continue for about the space of one year, from the passing the Act. As however it will be necessary in the event of the discontinuance of her Majesty’s power over the household, that her Majesty should retain, by reason of the custody of his Majesty’s person still continuing in her Majesty, some such portion of the household establishment as shall seem

to be more immediately required for the royal dignity and personal comfort of his Majesty, the termination of her power should be so connected with a sitting of Parliament, as to secure the opportunity of making some fresh arrangements upon this point before that termination shall take place.

“Personal property not now vested in trustees should be vested in trustees. Her Majesty, your Royal Highness, and such other persons as may be named, should be such trustees. This trust, subject to his Majesty’s disposition by deed or will. In the event of his Majesty’s demise, without a will, this property to be distributed by law.

“Power to grant for life or for good behaviour all such offices as must be granted for such terms, but all other offices, and all pensions should during the period of the limitations extend only to the granting them during the time of the Regency, subject as to their further continuance to the subsequent pleasure of his Majesty.

“That the prerogative of granting any rank or dignity of peerage should not be exercised by your Royal Highness, till the expiration of the same period, except in favour of any person who shall achieve some signal naval or military service.”

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, December 24. Eden Farm.—“I do not know whether you have seen your speech of 16th January, 1789, as republished and *circulated* (I believe) by the Treasury. The three first lines of the advertisement prefixed to it contain an assumption somewhat hardy, viz.:—*The situation of affairs* at the close of the year 1788, and beginning of 1789, being exactly similar to the state of the country in the present time, December, 1810.’

“The reverse of that assertion being lamentably true, a question arises whether the actual predicament of the British Empire, added to the consideration of the matured age of the Prince, and of the King’s years and great infirmities, may not call for a Regency with fewer restrictions than might have been expedient 22 years ago. My private feeling is that if the Regency is to take place, it should now be entrusted, with every exercise of executive power in the appointment of offices (the Household included), with no other restriction than that they shall be given during pleasure, and remain liable to be resumed on an eventual recovery.

“If the papers give an accurate statement of Mr. Perceval’s speech on Friday, he means to send Treasury orders to the Exchequer for all the requisite issues of money for the public service. If he made such a declaration, Mr. Ponsonby or Mr. Whitbread should have objected strongly to the adjournment. I do not know enough of the constitution of the Exchequer to say how far the officers are bound to obey a novel and illegal order sent at the responsibility of the

Treasury; more especially, too, when the sanction of the two Houses might have been asked. This last relapse at Windsor materially affects the expectation of recovery, and leaves little doubt that a Regency will take place."

Postscript.—"There is a paragraph in this day's *Morning Post* which confirms my suspicion that the publication of your speech is one of the little manœuvres of the Treasury. The paragraph recommends it to the members of the two Houses, 'particularly as connected with his lordship's manly avowal that his sentiments therein, so ably expressed, still remain unchanged.'"

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1810, December 25. [Cleveland Square.]—"The P[rince] left the King at Windsor yesterday at two, a good deal deranged in mind, but not essentially worse in bodily health; but at half-past twelve last night an express arrived at Carlton House to say that the K[ing] was in so violent a paroxysm, that, if it did not speedily abate, must be fatal. The P[rince] ordered his carriage and went instantly back to Windsor, from whence he had not returned at four to-day; but as the bulletin describes some sleep after the paroxysm, I conclude that the pressure of immediate danger has subsided; but the alarm will tell upon your division on Thursday and upon the Commons on Monday.

"D[uke] of Q[ueensberry] has left by will 150,000*l.* to Douglas, 60,000*l.* to Duchess of Somerset, and after very many legacies the residue to Lady Yarmouth's children, which residue is called 400,000*l.* To-day, however, a whole box of codicils is found which changes many of the legacies, and produces great confusion. By the codicils, Lord William Gordon has 10,000*l.*, instead of 20,000*l.* by will; Fitzpatrick 1,000*l.*, and 500*l.* *per annum*, instead of 10,000*l.* by will, but I do not find that there is any revocation of the legacy of the Duchess of Somerset; 20,000*l.* to Thomas, 5,000*l.* to Lord Siamouth, 5,000*l.* Père Elisée, 5,000*l.* General Picton, 5,000*l.* General Crawford, 1,000*l.* and an annuity to Lady Hamilton; large legacies to men-servants, but no mention of females or of the apothecary.

"Lord Spencer has just written to beg a mutton chop at seven, to-morrow. I have told him that I dine with you at six, and that your kitchen could not do more than give him a chop, which I concluded you would give him, if he came and asked for it in any reasonable time.

"My brother is a good deal better.

"In addition to the bulletin, you should know that the reports current are of a *very bad* state at Windsor. This is believed at Carlton House; and Charles, who went on lieutenantancy business to the Sec[retary] of State's Office, tells me that those of the clerks whom he questioned said

everything at Windsor was *very bad indeed*. Perceval's speech has made a good deal of impression, and Sir C. Pole shewed me a letter that he had just received from the country, dated '23rd December in the first year of the reign of Spencer Perceval.' I have inspired into all that I come near some portion of my indignation at Perceval's speech, but I have not found Tierney or Ponsonby yet. Why should not a resolution be moved declaring that 'during the incapacity of the King, and while the H[ouse] of Lords and Commons are considering of the proper mode of supplying that defect, it is a high crime and misdemeanour for any of the King's servants to use the King's name or signature without the previous consent and approbation of the House of Lords and Commons at that time assembled'? I think some declaration of this sort indispensable, because otherwise Perceval's speech will have made the H[ouse] of Commons party and accomplice in a treasonable use of the King's name and authority. I know not what P[erceval] means by his notions of indemnity. It is true that Parliament grants indemnity occasionally for a breach of the law rendered *suddenly necessary* by some *unforeseen emergency*; but the first principle of application to Parliament for indemnity should be found in shewing that it was impossible in prudence to wait for the previous opinion of Parliament; whereas upon the present occasion P[erceval] very gravely tells the House, *while it is sitting*, not that he will consult that House in any pressing exigency, but that he will act upon *his own discretion* instead of applying himself to theirs. It is really quite monstrous; yet the lofty audacity of it will in these degenerate days create as much admiration as indignation."

Private. LORD GRENVILLE to EARL GREY.

1810, December 31. Camelford House.—"You will have seen all that has hitherto passed since you left us. I have no very particular knowledge of the King's state, but after what came out before the Committee of the Lords, the thing speaks for itself. This last attack has been a fresh paroxysm as violent (probably) as the first, and it is now again beginning to remit; and so long as this succession of attack and remission continues, the actual state from day to day is quite immaterial, and the real question is which will wear out first, the disease or the constitution.

"From what I collect it is probable that the Government will carry the question to-night in the House of Commons, though with a much smaller majority than the last. Upon the Household I should not wonder if they were to be beat. The Prince has, as you will have seen, openly taken his line. Upon the occasion of the present question relative to the issue of money from the Exchequer, he sent for Lord Buckingham. He expressed himself in the course of the conversation in terms of decided hostility to the present Ministers, and spoke

of the formation of a new Government in the event of the establishment of a Regency as a thing which he considered as certain; but his expectation of which appeared to Lord Buckingham to be grounded on the persuasion of the immediate resignation of the present Ministers. What reason there is for that supposition I know not; to me it appears very doubtful. He expressed himself very graciously as to the course and language which I had held in the last debate, but intimated a strong wish that, as a few votes either way will probably turn the decision in the House of Lords on the next division, I should be brought to oppose the whole of the restrictions, in order that the whole body of the Opposition might act together on that question. Lord Buckingham expressed his own determination to be (as he has from the first declared it was) against all restrictions, but professed (as was strictly true) that I had not explained even to him what my own intentions were. He naturally expressed his persuasion of my strong desire to do in this matter what might be satisfactory to the Prince, as far as I could with consistency and honour; but very judiciously intimated that any communication upon this subject from the Prince would come much better through Adam, as the Prince's first officer, than in any other channel. In consequence of this Adam came to me yesterday morning, and stated to me in substance the same as had been said to Lord Buckingham of the Prince's wish that I could be induced to oppose the restrictions generally, or, if not, so to shape my course as to add to the next division my own vote and those of the six or seven persons who on the last occasion voted with me.

"I enclose to you the minute which I gave to Adam of what I wished to be said in answer to this communication.

"My own decision as to my course of conduct is not finally taken. I have thought it best on every ground to reserve any declaration of my opinion till I see what the question is really to be on which I shall have to decide.

"If all the restrictions come up to us in this present form, it is probable that I shall resist the Household arrangement on the ground of the impropriety of a double establishment in the present state of the public finances, and of the facility with which the same arrangement for a division of the Household may be made now, which Pereval in his letter to the Prince proposes to make at the end of the year. The restriction as to places and pensions for life is little if at all more than is now in fact imposed on the crown itself by the proceedings depending in the House of Commons. That respecting the peerage I shall probably feel myself bound to support, but for no longer period than *six months* from the date of the King's illness, that being the utmost duration of the former maladies.

"If this should be my course, I shall naturally take care not to be included (by voting for the general words of the

resolution) in the division with those who are for the whole of the restrictions, and I shall therefore in that case vote with those who move to leave out those general words, in order if they are left out to propose others descriptive of my more limited view of the same subject.

“To say how much on every account I regret your absence from these debates would be useless ; you know all I could express on that subject.” *Copy.*

Enclosure :

MINUTE OF LORD GRENVILLE FOR MR. ADAM.

1810, December 30.—1. “That Lord Grenville does not entertain the slightest idea of supporting the proposed restrictions to the extent (either in point of time or substance) in which they have been opened in the House of Commons.

2. “That if Lord Grenville should ultimately support any part of those restrictions even for the shortest time, it will be with the sole and declared view of upholding the principle of the measures of 1788–9, to which Lord Grenville is so strongly pledged both in past and present opinions. And that he will eagerly disclaim the possibility of resting any such measure on any ground injurious to the character and claims of the Prince, to whom the country looks with confidence for its salvation in the present fearful crisis.

3. “That the precise line of Lord Grenville’s conduct in the House of Lords must in some degree depend on the form in which the resolutions shall be brought up from the House of Commons, and upon what may have occurred there ; this consideration being essentially connected with the attention which Lord Grenville must pay to the dispositions of some of those with whom he is connected, as well as to the peculiar circumstances of his own situation.

“But that there is nothing which he more strongly desires than that his line of conduct may (if possible) be so arranged with that of the great body of Opposition, as that he may be joined with them in the first division. The mode of doing this seems, however, to be attended with considerable difficulty.” *Copy.*

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, January 1. Eden Farm.—“Before I left town yesterday, George Eden arrived, and expressed so decided an opinion against all the restrictions, and so strong a belief that it was expedient to push the first division, that I no longer discouraged him, and have just received the enclosed note of the result.

“I do not know that he is too sanguine when he says ‘There is an end of the restrictions, and of the Ministers’ ; and indeed it will not be easy in any event to resuscitate the latter,

“ Unless the House of Commons can be brought to reject the restrictions on the report, it seems possible that the trial of strength in the House of Lords may come on before Monday. Every exertion should be made to bring all our friends into the field, and to give the *coup de grace*. Lord Gwydir told me yesterday that 14 of the 100 in the last division are known to be against restrictions.

“ As to what is to happen afterwards : ‘ how fearful and dizzy ’tis to rest one’s eyes so low . . .

‘ I’ll look no more,

Lest my brain turn, and the deficient sight
topple down headlong.’

“ I only know in humble prose that it cannot be for the worse, and may be incalculably for the better.”

EARL GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, January 5. Howick.—“ I have received your letter, with a copy of the minute delivered by you to Adam, in consequence of the communication made by him to you from the Prince. I will only say at present that it perfectly meets my ideas of what it was right for you to do on such an occasion.

“ I am at this moment in all the hurry and confusion of preparing to set out to-morrow, having much to settle before I leave this place. This must be my excuse for not writing more at present on the various subjects which require consideration, and, in truth, it renders it unnecessary, as I hope to be able to discuss them with you in person very soon after you receive this letter. I expect to be in town early on Wednesday.”

Postscript.—“ Pray tell your brother that I received his letter last night, but do not answer it, as I shall see him so soon.”

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1811, January 8. Eden Farm.—“ Lord Grey is to be in town to-morrow. I have just received a very good humoured and pleasant letter from him ; though, he adds : ‘ I really hardly dare look at the numerous and tremendous difficulties we have to encounter.’

“ I lay small stress on the sanguine hopes of the Ministerial newspapers, that a speedy recovery may [be] expected ; although in support of those hopes they gravely add that ‘ his Majesty is playing with taste and judgment the most complicated pieces of music.’ (I doubt whether he knows a note of any instrument)—and on Handle’s [Handel] harpsichord, too !

“ This lie is as impudent as the paragraph of the 2nd November, that on the preceding day he had fatigued himself with doing business with all the Ministers,

“That falling off in the Consolidated Fund is one of the blessed fruits of the foolish Orders in Council, and, bad as it is, is one of the least mischievous. A new Government might perhaps gain much deserved credit, and do much public good, by a well judged revision and correction of all that wild system.”

DRAFT PREPARED BY LORD GREY AND LORD GRENVILLE FOR
THE PRINCE'S ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS OF THE
LORDS AND COMMONS.

1811, January 9.—“Under the heavy affliction which has fallen upon us, I can have no greater consolation than in the testimonies of your regard and favourable opinion. These are my best encouragement, and their continuance must be my chief support in the unexampled difficulties of the task on which I am about to enter.

“With respect to the proposed limitations of the authority to be entrusted to me, I retain my former opinions. The two Houses cannot be more anxious than I am to make all necessary provisions for the present comfort of his Majesty, and for the future exercise of his Royal functions whenever, by the blessing of God, he shall be enabled to resume them. Proportioned to the pain which I now experience will be the happiness of that day when I may restore to the King those powers which, as belonging only to him, are in his name and on his behalf to be entrusted to me.

“For such a purpose no restraint can be necessary to be imposed on me. To the arrangements, however, which your wisdom shall ultimately deem best suited to such an occasion I shall readily accede; conscious that whatever degree of confidence you may think fit to repose in me it will at least be justified by the integrity of my views, by my attachment to your welfare in which my own is inseparably involved, and by my unceasing solicitude for the discharge of all the various duties which I owe to my father, and to my sovereign.

“For myself I can desire nothing more ardently than that I may, with your assistance, uphold the glory and the essential interests of his crown; that he may resume the government unimpaired and undiminished whenever it shall please Providence to restore him to our prayers; and that he may then have the satisfaction to learn that the conduct of his son in this perilous crisis of our affairs has been such as was best calculated to promote the objects always nearest to his heart, the safety and happiness of his affectionate and faithful people.”

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, January 9. Buckingham House.—“It seems as if I were doomed never to quit my bedroom; for this fall of snow brought on last night a violent pain and swelling in my

ear, which robbed me of my sleep and confines me to my fire-side. I have, therefore, had full time to consider the opening which you made yesterday to my son of your intended arrangements for the formation of a new Government, on which (though you certainly must have considered the points that obviously arise upon it) I am anxious to express to you my opinions. I collect from your statement to him that you look to Lord Grey, Ponsonby and Lord Holland for the three Seals; to Mr. Whitbread for the Admiralty, Tiernay for the Exchequer, Erskine for the Lord Chancellor, Lord Lansdowne President of the Council, Lord Stafford or Lord Hardwicke Privy Seal, and Lord Auekland for the Board of Control; the two last are therefore the only Cabinet offices given to your friends holding with you those principles and opinions which we have ever deemed it essential to the public service, and to our private characters, as in contradistinction to the opinions professed by what we have termed the other wing of the army; and the House of Commons is distinctly put under the management of Whitbread (who will clearly be the real leader), Ponsonby and Tiernay; and no attempt is made to maintain either a public standard (or our private family standard) to which those may rally, on public grounds, whose opinions and votes have been opposed to those maintained by these three gentlemen, and particularly by the first; and at the same time by disclaiming every idea of obtaining other assistance, we take by the beard every party in the House of Commons either connected with or broken off from the present Government, backed by the influence and support of that part of the Household that will be kept back from the Regent, and will be arrayed against you. Of the success of such an undertaking I think I can speak without the slightest doubts, when I give you my opinion in one word, that it must fail in the outset, both in the House of Commons and with the public; and I must fairly own that I should not even wish it to succeed, if those principles of Government which I maintained for so many years are to give way to the sentiments of those who can only be resisted in Cabinet by your *Veto*, and who in the House of Commons will be your masters, as well as of the country; Mr. Whitbread holding the most important office because it is an office of the greatest patronage and power. With those opinions, expressed even as late as the last 14 days, yours and mine cannot amalgamate; and if you could consent to strike on public grounds the flag of distinction in that House which we have maintained, I could not be brought to enrol my family flag and friends under Mr. Whitbread's standard. If I can feel, and can bring myself to express myself thus strongly, I leave you to judge what must be the feelings of other members of both Houses, and of (what is more important) the public at large on the same question. I know not why the idea of Mr. Canning, or of Mr. Percival, or even of that contemptible

animal Lord Sidmouth is to be abandoned as hopeless ; *anything* is better than such an attempt on principles wholly undefensible. It is no disgrace to fail in forming a Government, and I should prefer infinitely that you should so fail, rather than so attempt to man your boat. I say nothing of Lord Moira's new appointment to Ireland ! Save that I view it as a measure even more hazardous than that which has occupied so much of my sleepless night.

"On the other points which you talked over with my son, I do not say one word ; for I am satisfied that in its present shape you will not launch your boat, and sufficient to the day is the evil thereof. Adieu ; receive this as a proof of affection, though it may pain you."

EARL SPENCER TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, January 9. Althorp.—"It was too late on Sunday evening, when I last saw you at T. Grenville's, to enter upon the subject to which I now think it my duty both to you and to myself to call your attention for a few minutes in this letter ; and I am not sorry that this was the case, as it has given me an opportunity of reconsidering, with less interruption than I could have done in London, the grounds and motives of the course which now, upon the fullest and most mature deliberation, I have finally made up my mind to adopt on the present occasion.

"You may remember that, at the period when you were invited by Mr. Perceval to come into office, we had a conversation on the subject at Dropmore, in which I stated to you what was at that time my decision with respect to my again taking any official situation ; and though, from that overture having been rejected by you, the subject was then dropped, as it is now not unlikely under the present circumstances to be resumed, I feel it incumbent on me again to state to you (I hope not prematurely) that, on the same grounds on which I then had formed my decision, I must absolutely decline taking any office whatever in the new arrangement which will, in all probability, be soon made ; and, having taken this resolution, it appears to me to be more consistent with it that I should abstain from assisting at any of the consultations which will take place for the purpose of forming those arrangements. It is therefore my intention not to return to town for the present.

"I trust that you know me and my sentiments upon public men and measures too well to impute this determination to any, even the smallest, diminution in my mind of that full confidence which I have now for several years been in the habit of placing in the integrity and correctness of your views upon political subjects in general, and to which, ever since we have been connected, I have looked with the greatest satisfaction as to an unerring guide for my own conduct. So

far from this being the case, I can, with unfeigned sincerity, assure you that I feel perfectly sure that what you will do in the present difficult crisis will be the best that can be done ; and will be that which, independently of all private feelings of friendship and attachment irrevocably fixed in my heart towards you, will on public principle also command my cordial and earnest support both in and out of Parliament ; but, for the reasons I before urged, not in office ; to the fatigue and anxiety of which my constitution, both of body and mind, renders me so utterly unequal, that I feel I should be guilty not only of deceiving those whom I wish to serve, but of disgracing myself, were I to expose myself to the accumulated pressure of them, which must inevitably rest upon the acceptance of any efficient situation in times like the present. This conduct may be attributed to a blameable timidity ; it may be imputed to a radical defect in judgment ; but I am most anxious that it should not for a moment be supposed to proceed from want of attachment to you and my other friends, in behalf of whom I must fervently pray for every possible success in the hazardous and truly arduous undertaking you are about to enter upon."

LORD GRENVILLE to EARL GREY.

1811, January 10. Camelford House.—“On the subject on which we talked relative to myself, I think it right to lose no time in saying to you distinctly, that I never will suffer any personal consideration of my own interests to involve my friends in embarrassment, or to bring any inconvenience on any arrangement likely to advance the public service. I cannot, therefore, enter into any further discussion with you on this point ; I will desire you to converse upon it with my brother Mr. Grenville, and to whatever joint advice you may give me upon it I will implicitly conform. If your opinions should not agree upon it, I shall only consider it as an additional proof among so many others that the embarrassments of my situation are in every point of view too great to make it possible for me to hope to be of any use to the public or to my friends.” *Copy.*

EARL GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1811, January 10. Portman Square.]—“About an hour ago Adam came to me at Lord Holland’s, accompanied by Sheridan. I found that our paper had undergone no very favourable discussion, and that the Prince, after stating several objections, which are referred to by figures in the margin, some of which Adam specified to me, and which I will, as well as I am able, explain to you to-morrow, had concluded by rejecting it *in toto* ; and has adopted Sheridan’s, with some alterations. This at Adam’s desire I read, but declined doing anything more,

stating that the Prince had an undoubted right to adopt the answer most congenial to his own views, but that it must be understood that we had no share in advising it. I further stated that I could not approve of the general tone and character of what was proposed, but that I could suggest no alterations without your concurrence. I afterwards remonstrated with Adam against having the advice which we were called upon to give thus subjected to another interior council, and stated very plainly that it would be in future impossible for me to offer any if such a practice was to continue.

“I really am worn out and hardly know what I have written, but whatever remains to be explained I shall hope to render more intelligible when I see you to-morrow.”

LORD GRENVILLE to THOMAS GRENVILLE.

[1811, January 10.]—“There is no longer any question of the justice or injustice of what is proposed to me. I have the satisfaction to know that the opinion generally entertained by Lord Grey and others of my friends on the subject is not unfavourable to my own view of the matter. Were the decision, therefore, one in which my own interests and character alone were involved, I should undoubtedly take my stand upon that ground and stand or fall by the result. But when it is asked whether I will, by declining any pecuniary sacrifice however unreasonable, consent to break up the chance whatever it may be of forming a strong Government to give effect to better views and principles than those lately acted upon, to that question I must answer no.

“The emoluments of my office in the Exchequer I am, therefore, prepared to relinquish if I should accept of any official situation in the Government of which there is now a question. But I feel a great difference between doing this in the case of the Treasury or of the Home Seals. When I was Secretary of State I made this sacrifice. To do the same thing now in the same situation would only be a repetition of my former conduct.

“When I was named—against my own inclination—to the Treasury, I thought myself well justified in holding the salary of both offices. Both together they were considerably below my necessary expense. To take the one at this time, relinquishing the other, would be openly to condemn myself, and to justify what I still think a most unfounded censure.

“I am thus compelled to revert to the wish I have already expressed of holding the Home Seals. I make no stipulation as to the hands in which the Treasury shall be placed. I should be best pleased to see it in Lord Grey’s hands. From his liberal and manly character and conduct I should derive the fullest confidence as to the arrangement of questions liable

between other persons to create difficulties and jealousies, which, after what has passed, would, I am persuaded, not arise between us. For my ambition or personal vanity I have nothing to ask, and what may really be necessary to satisfy the just expectations of others with respect to my political situation will, I have no doubt, be as readily acceded to by him whether I fill one office or another. And in this case it will, I am sure, be recollected that the choice made is one the renewal of which the considerations above stated have absolutely forced upon me. I say nothing of the other difficulties of forming such a Government as I have described. These must be matters of subsequent consideration; they press quite as much on others as on me, and, at all events, I must completely separate all consideration of these from that of any matter at all connected with my own personal interests." *Copy.*

EARL GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1811, January 11. Portman Square.]—"I enclose to you a note I have just received from Adam with a draft of the answer as finally settled by the Prince. All that we have to say, as it appears to me, under the present circumstances, is that we can have nothing more to do with it.

"I enclose also a note from Lauderdale, with an account of what passed after I left Holland's, whose conduct I am sure you will think quite satisfactory. Pray return the answer before Adam comes, with anything you may wish me to say to him. Shall I bring him to you?"

EARL GREY and LORD GRENVILLE to W. ADAM.

1811, January 11.—"Lord Grey and Lord Grenville desire Mr. Adam to express on their part their dutiful acknowledgments to the Prince for the gracious communication of the answer which his Royal Highness intends making to the deputation of the two Houses this day. On the tenor of that answer it would be presumptuous in them to offer any opinion in a case when their advice is not required by his Royal Highness."

LORD GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1811, January 11. Camelford House.—"In consequence of what passed this morning, Lord Grey and myself have thought ourselves called upon to submit to the Prince the considerations contained in the enclosed paper. We take the liberty, therefore, of requesting that you would have the goodness to take the earliest opportunity consistent with his Royal Highness's convenience to lay it before him." *Copy.*

Enclosure :

“The circumstances which have occurred respecting your Royal Highness’s answer to the two Houses have induced Lord Grey and Lord Grenville most humbly to solicit permission to submit to your Royal Highness the following considerations, with the undisguised sincerity which the occasion seems to require, but with every expression that can best convey their respectful feelings of dutiful and inviolable attachment.

“When your Royal Highness did Lord Grenville the honour through Mr. Adam to command his attendance, it was distinctly expressed to him that your Royal Highness had condescended to select him in conjunction with Lord Grey to be consulted with as the public and responsible advisers of that answer. And Lord Grenville can never forget the gracious terms in which your Royal Highness had the goodness to lay these your orders upon him. It was also on the same ground of public and responsible advice that Lord Grey, honoured in like manner by the most gracious expression of your Royal Highness’s confidence on the subject, applied himself to the consideration of it conjointly with Lord Grenville. They could not but feel the difficulty of the undertaking, which required them to reconcile two objects essentially different: (1) To uphold and distinctly to manifest that unshaken adherence to your Royal Highness’s past and present opinions which consistency and honour require; (2) but to conciliate at the same time the feelings of the two Houses, by expressions of confidence and affection, and to lay the foundation of that good understanding between your Royal Highness and the Parliament, the establishment of which must be the first wish of every man who is truly attached to your Royal Highness, and who knows and values the constitution of his country.

“Lord Grey and Lord Grenville are far from the presumption of believing that their humble endeavours for the execution of so difficult a task might not be susceptible of many and great amendments. The draft which they humbly submitted to your Royal Highness was considered by them as open to every remark which might occur to your Royal Highness’s better judgment. On every occasion, but more especially in the preparation of your Royal Highness’s first act of Government, it would have been no less their desire than their duty to have profited by all such objections, and to have laboured to accomplish in the best manner they were able every command which your Royal Highness might have been pleased to lay upon them. Upon the objects to be attained there could be no difference of sentiment. These, such as they are above described, are, they confidently believe, not less important in your Royal Highness’s view of the subject, than in that which they themselves have ventured to express.

“ But they would be wanting in that sincerity and openness by which they can alone hope, however imperfectly, to make any return to that gracious confidence with which your Royal Highness has condescended to honour them, if they suppressed the expressions of their deep concern in finding that their humble endeavours in your Royal Highness’s service have been submitted to the judgment of [Mr. Sheridan] another person, by whose advice your Royal Highness has been guided in your final decision on a matter on which they alone had, however unworthily, been honoured with your Royal Highness’s commands. It is their most sincere and ardent wish that in the arduous station which your Royal Highness is about to fill, you may have the benefit of the public advice and responsible services of those men, whoever they may be, by whom your Royal Highness’s glory, and the interests of the country, can best be promoted. It would be with unfeigned distrust of their own means of discharging such duties that they could in any case venture to undertake them. And in the humble but respectful representation which they have presumed to make of their feelings on this occasion, they are conscious of being actuated not less by their dutiful and grateful attachment to your Royal Highness than by those principles of constitutional responsibility, the maintenance of which they deem essential to any hope of a successful administration of the public interests.”

Signed, GREY.
GRENVILLE.

Copy.

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1811, January 11.]—“ I have just left my brother, with whom I have done some good in conversation. The result is that he says he will do all he can to soothe and quiet T[emple], in the persuasion that you will do all you can to assist his views as S[ecretary] at W[ar] without the Cab[inet]. I have said that though I could not speak for you without authority, I was quite persuaded that you would do all you could, out of affection for T[emple], to accomplish, if possible, that, or any other object that he wished, if that object was such as you could reasonably propose to those with whom you have a common interest and feeling. I hope he will be S[ecretary] at W[ar], and all will go well, but I have repeated to Lord B[uckingham] that neither would you undertake office, nor could I honestly advise you to do so, unless you had the warm and hearty zealous co-operation of all your family. I find Lord B[uckingham] quite as anxious as I am for the success of the suggestion respecting C[anning] and the Admiralty; and every hour adds to my conviction of the evident advantage that would attend it. There are, I am persuaded, many who will start in the House at the *three* original names, who will be reconciled to them by the addition

of C[anning]. If I do not much deceive myself, it is not overstating the point to say that the *certainty* of success turns upon it; *if* you agree to this, I hope you will not be easily diverted from it. The Court say the K[ing] is better to a great degree, and Lord Chesterfield says he is *all but quite well*." . . .

EARL GREY to THE SAME.

[1811, January 12. Portman Square.]—"There is hardly any arrangement that will unite us amongst ourselves, and procure to the administration the strength which is necessary, to which I will not give my consent; and to Lord Lansdowne personally I can have no objection in the Treasury or in any other office. But before we proceed further on this or any other part of the arrangement, I feel it indispensable that I should write you an answer, in the same form which you have adopted, to the paper which I received from your brother last night. In doing this I beg you to be assured that I can be actuated only by the same sentiments of sincere and cordial friendship which I hope have never appeared equivocal in any part of our connection."

Postscript.—"I am afraid in consequence of what I have stated I must defer calling on you till to-morrow morning."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1811, January 14. Portman Square.]—"A thought has this instant struck me with respect to the Board of Trade, and new Board of War, which, I think, presents a better face than anything that has yet occurred to us.

"Lansdowne—Board of Trade, with President or Privy Seal.

"Lauderdale—Board of War.

"You might make up the salary with the Great Seal of Scotland equal to a Secretary of State, which it ought to be; his appointment would, if anything could, reconcile both the Prince and the Duke of York to the new arrangement; and the advantages of his activity and intelligence and introducing a regular system of account and of economy into the expenditure of the army would be incalculable. The Board of Trade would, at the same time, I think, be more agreeable to Lord Lansdowne, and I have no doubt would be thought by the public better suited to him, than that of War. I have stated this idea to you just as it has arisen, without any means of forming more than a general conjecture how far either of the persons I have mentioned would be inclined to concur in it. I should wish to have a few minutes' conversation with you this morning on this and some other matters, and will call upon you at two, if that hour suits you."

Postscript.—"I had just written the above when your note came. You may be assured that my disposition to

Charles Williams and my desire to promote his consequence in the House of Commons is all that you could wish. What do you think of Ireland for him if Morpeth should decline?

“I will begin upon the Orders of Council as soon as I get the papers which Lord Auekland promised me. But, in addition to these, it is absolutely necessary that we should see what has passed with the Government here, before we can come to any decision. I see all the importance of making up our minds on the measures to be taken, but really this is a point on which we must not be in too great a hurry. Our friend Auekland is sometimes a little too much disposed to be so; and perhaps the orders of May and January, 1806–7, were produced in that manner.”

EARL GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, January 14. Portman Square.—“You could not recommend to me a person whom I should have greater pleasure in appointing one of my under-secretaries than C. Wynne. But we have unfortunately got into a bother about Ward, which at present restrains me from offering it to him. After I left you I met Ward, and had a long conversation with him on the subject of your brother’s offer. I found that Brougham had not, as I had before understood, made up his mind to decline the Foreign Office; that Ward’s wishes pointed to the same situation; and that if they could be joint secretaries they probably would both accept. Thinking that the question with respect to Ward lay between the Home and the Foreign Office, and that therefore he in any case stood in your contemplation as one of the under-secretaries, I thought there might be less difficulty in making the arrangement he seemed to wish; and as it would facilitate your other arrangements I told him if they could agree to accept these offices together, I would endeavour to manage it for them. I mentioned, however, the difficulty respecting the seats in Parliament, so that I am by no means pledged. Thus the matter stands. I can only add that if, after all, they shall decline, I shall be most happy in having C. Wynne with me, if you can find nothing better for him.

“If Ward takes the under-secretaryship (he scouted the idea of the Home Department), Morpeth having declined, both our intended paymasters are disposed of. If you could allow me to offer one of them to Lord John Townshend, it would be the greatest possible relief to my mind. I know he can give us no assistance in Parliament, but the claim of his old connection with Fox would, I am persuaded, be very generally acknowledged, and his appointment would create less jealousy amongst our young friends than either of those we had at first proposed.

"I think the letter to Lord Moira as well done as so awkward a thing can be done. I have put in a parenthesis on account of my old connection with Sheridan, and have made a slight alteration in the end, which may perhaps be a little more civil to Moira than as it stood before."

Postscript.—"I have just heard that Lord Morpeth would perhaps take an under-secretaryship in the Foreign Department. I do not mention this as making any alteration in what I have written, but merely that you may consider it."

Confidential. LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1811, January 15. Eden Farm.—"In meditating on the secret view which you confided to me, I am satisfied that it would be eligible for your health, and for the great energies of the public service. My only doubt is how far (for obvious reasons) it may be agreeable to some of our political connections; and also, how far it would be rightly understood in a larger circle, as leaving the pre-eminence and patronage unqualified and unembarrassed.

"I have some dread that the accession on which you speculate, though eminently material, will too much interfere with the fair claims of two or three of our nobles, who are very efficient, and whose conduct has been most steady and most friendly.

"There is a large list of persons who were in office in 1806-7, and are now out of the question: Lord Spencer, Mr. Grenville, Mr. Windham, Lord Sidmouth, Lord Buckinghamshire, Mr. B. Bathurst, Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Golding, Sir Francis Vincent. This ought to give some facilities.

"Perhaps I might, not unreasonably, through you, enter privately at the Treasury a melancholy and painful pretension in any eventual vacancy of the office which Mr. Percival so unjustly and ungenerously took from my family; but the uncertainty is in all respects so extreme, that it hardly seems to be an object."

EARL GREY to THE SAME.

[1811, January 16.] Portman Square.—"It has not been in my power to call on you, and I am now under the absolute necessity of attending an appointment which I have at the other end of the town. I merely write this that you may not be induced to believe that I am kept away by any feelings that are in the slightest degree inconsistent with the perfect cordiality which has always subsisted between us."

SIR JOHN NEWPORT to THE SAME.

[1811, January 16.] Bury Street.—"On the subject respecting which you so kindly consulted me, and left me time for

deliberation, I beg you will act as you judge best for your own arrangements, and be assured that I will take such part with pleasure as you choose to allot me, perfectly assured that in so doing I consult the best interests of the country, except as far as your partiality for your friend may outweigh your better judgment.

“On the other point the only names which occur to me as qualified are Adair and Frankland, in addition to those whom you mentioned, Calcraft, Horner, C. Williams. Of these I consider Calcraft first, Adair or Horner next. I agree with you in thinking C. W[illiams], but from the apprehension of his too great mildness and facility of disposition (dangerous qualities in such a situation), would be admirably fitted for it.

“We have reason to hope (can I so term it for the country) that by the speedy convalescence of his Majesty, the arduous task will be spared of inheriting the dreadful responsibility in the view of the unthinking public which results from the disastrous and criminal measures of these men.”

EARL GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1811, January 20. Portman Square.]—“I enclose the paper with some alterations, and with a conclusion which you probably will be able to improve. I consulted Adam about it, and he expressed a great desire that I should introduce some words to indicate our agreement in the plan of arrangements. From this I concluded that some reports to the contrary had reached the Prince’s ears, though he did not distinctly say so. I mention this only to account for the passage which might otherwise appear odd to you, and that you may leave it, or something equivalent to it, in any alteration you may make.

“I also send in another cover a long letter from Sheridan to Lord Holland, which it is necessary you should see before we go to Carlton House, as the Prince may perhaps say something about it.”

Enclosure :

EARL GREY and LORD GRENVILLE to THE PRINCE OF WALES.

1811, January 21.—“Lord Grey and Lord Grenville have given the most careful and deliberate consideration to the questions on which your Royal Highness has condescended to require their opinion. They are deeply sensible of the accumulated difficulties under which your Royal Highness is about to enter on the arduous task of providing for the public safety; and they entreat your Royal Highness to receive with indulgence such advice as they now presume to offer under circumstances which no course of conduct can relieve from many and great embarrassments.

“The first difficulty which naturally presents itself is that resulting from the King’s situation, which, necessarily involved in some uncertainty, is rendered still more doubtful by the confused and contradictory accounts which have been given to the public. They humbly conceive, therefore, that it may be proper for your Royal Highness at the period of your entering on the Regency, or rather a few days before it, to take measures for procuring the most precise information that can be obtained on this subject. If on the result of such information it should appear probable that his Majesty may within any very limited period be so far recovered as to resume the exercise of the Royal functions, it would, as they imagine, be your Royal Highness’s desire to avoid the embarrassments which must result from any intermediate change of men or measures. The suspension of the most important functions of the monarchy for the last three months has indeed, in their judgment, already been highly detrimental to the public interests. This evil must no doubt be considerably aggravated by any further delay in the adoption of a decisive and well-considered system of policy suited to the unparalleled difficulties of the present crisis. But in the case now supposed, it would in no degree be remedied by such a fluctuation of public councils as must result from a present change of measures likely to be again reversed at the end of a few weeks. In this case, by the continuance of the present administration under such an explanation as your Royal Highness might think it expedient to give of the motives which had influenced your decision, your Royal Highness could not justly be considered as approving, much less as adopting, the system of their policy.

“If, on the contrary, your Royal Highness should be satisfied that the duties on which your Royal Highness is about to enter must in all human probability be of such duration as to impose on your Royal Highness an absolute necessity of exercising your own judgment on the policy and measures of the Government which you are called to administer, there is but one advice which Lord Grey and Lord Grenville can then offer to your Royal Highness. Their opinion of the system pursued during the last four years has at all times been publicly declared. It was founded on a full consideration of the state and interests of the country, and it has been but too fully verified by experience. Every part of the public interests has now been brought into a situation of such imminent peril that no hope even of safety remains except by an immediate and total change of public councils. Such is the opinion which they are bound to offer to your Royal Highness. Nor can they decline to take upon themselves all the responsibility of the measures necessarily resulting from it, if, upon a full consideration, your Royal Highness should deem it expedient to carry this their humble advice into execution.

"They are well aware of the embarrassments which such a course may produce to your Royal Highness, and it may perhaps be permitted to them to add that they are not insensible to the difficulty and danger to which, under your Royal Highness's favourable opinion, they may possibly expose themselves. But they would be unworthy of the confidence with which they are honoured, if with the opinions they have stated they suffered themselves to be deterred from the discharge of their public duty, in the execution of such commands as your Royal Highness shall be graciously pleased to lay upon them.

"In thus humbly submitting these opinions to your Royal Highness, Lord Grey and Lord Grenville beg leave farther to state that they have also considered of the means of forming a new administration, and they have concerted with each other such general outlines of the arrangements for this purpose as they have found most practicable in the present divided state of parties, and under the very embarrassed situation of the public affairs. Upon the details of these arrangements, if it should appear expedient to your Royal Highness to proceed further upon them, they are prepared to enter more particularly in such manner as your Royal Highness shall be pleased to direct." *Copy.*

Endorsed by Lord Grenville:—"Minute delivered to the Prince by Lord Grey and Lord Grenville, January 21, 1811."

LORD GRENVILLE TO EARL GREY.

1811, January 22. Camelford House.—"I should be unjust if I omitted, before I enter on the subject of Mr. Whitbread's letter, which you have communicated to me, to acknowledge the very obliging terms in which it is expressed towards myself personally. Of these I beg you to assure him that I am duly sensible.

"On the substance of that letter I can have but one answer to make. What I did in 1806 was done on mature deliberation. My own opinion was confirmed by that of all the persons with whom I then thought it useful to consult; and it is no light satisfaction to me now again to have found so many of my friends concurring in the same sentiments and reprobating all the censures cast upon me on that occasion as utterly groundless and unjust.

"If the decision which I am now to make involved only my own character and situation, no apprehension of unfounded calumny should induce me to vary that conduct which I still deem right, or by departing from my former resolution to give any countenance to an unjust imputation.

"But I have long since declared to you in the very first moments of this discussion that I would suffer no personal interests of mine to embarrass the formation of a Government (if such can be formed) capable of rescuing the country from

its present dangers. This determination must now equally govern my conduct in respect not to personal interests only, but also to personal feelings. What these are, or how they are aggravated by that particular arrangement of office which alone you deem practicable, I need not repeat to you who are so fully apprized of them. Nothing but the strongest sense of public duty could surmount them. Every motive of personal inclination would have led me at once to withdraw myself from all further discussion of official arrangements. I am told by you that in so doing I should destroy the only chance whatever it be of seeing the public affairs administered on better views and principles than those which have lately prevailed; and I have too much reason to believe that this your opinion is not founded merely in personal partiality and kindness, which I have on this as on all former occasions so largely experienced from you. To this consideration, therefore, I yield up every other feeling, and authorise you to express on this ground alone my resolution in accepting the office of First Lord of the Treasury, if it be really necessary that I must accept that office, to relinquish the salary of that which I hold in the Exchequer. But in thus departing from that line of conduct which I followed in 1806, I think I owe it to myself to declare my unaltered adherence to its justice and propriety as resting both on example and on reason. I have only to add that a decision governed by such motives does also naturally imply on my part the resolution to obliterate from my mind all traces of such disagreeable impressions as this occurrence has unavoidably occasioned, and to conduct myself with frankness and cordiality towards all those with whom I may be connected in public service." *Copy.*

Private. LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, January 22. Eden Farm.—“My inclosure explains itself; if it should be well and promptly done it will be an auspicious opening of a Government which comes into action under the most inauspicious circumstances.

“I wish to intimate to you an idea which occurs to me as of infinite importance. I think that the Regent should be prepared with a speech, or message, or some document of authority, which may give a right impression of his views and intentions both at home and abroad, and, to a certain degree, with a turn of language and sentiment such as may warm a little the affections of our countrymen.

“It is difficult to know what to believe in these times:—Lord Sidmouth’s supposed negotiation with Mr. Percival was in the papers yesterday. Lord Buckinghamshire took the occasion, most positively, to assure me that no overture of the kind had ever existed; nor any overture except a proposition in last May to form a Government on a broad basis with Mr. Canning, which Lord S[idmouth] rejected.

"I have sent my proxy for to-morrow to Lord Dundas ; and I am hardly likely to interrupt you before $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 on Friday ; though I am ready to go to town at an hour's notice if you wish it. If matters go forward, I shall probably move to town for a few weeks.

"I found the Act which establishes the amended Board of Control ; it is the 33 Geo. 3, c. 52, under a title totally foreign from that subject. You will be impoverished by your public spirit, and I shall not be enriched by any share that [I] may take in it."

EARL GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1811, January 22. Portman Square.]—"I could not catch Whitbread till just as he was going to the House of Commons, when there was not time for much conversation with him. What I had was extremely satisfactory, and I have the strongest hope will be rendered completely so either to-night or to-morrow morning, when he has promised that I shall hear definitely from him.

"I learn from George Ponsonby that the arrangement with Judge Downes has not been made, and cannot be made without the King. It is one of the excepted offices, and cannot be disposed of by the Lord Lieutenant.

"I have been thinking a great deal of the army arrangement. The difficulties arising from rank are very great in the case of any military man that we could wish to place there. The objections to a civilian would, I foresee, be very great, and could only be surmounted in all probability by the war secretaries being placed at the head of the Board ; but that could not be if Whitbread has that office.

"These and all other arrangements, however, become less probable if we are to rely on the accounts given of the King. I saw Sir H. Halford after I left you. He told me that the King walked yesterday on the terrace, that he was not hurried by it, that his conversation has been rational, but that the prevailing error still continued. Upon my questioning him a little more closely, he acknowledged that he was not the least aware of what is passing, that he has never expressed any surprise at no business being brought to him, and that, speaking of the examination of the physicians, he had said that having heard no more of it, he concluded it had blown over. He gave, however, a pretty strong opinion that he would ultimately recover."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1811, January 24. Portman Square.]—"I have appointed Whitbread to be with you to-morrow at twelve, and have desired him to make the same appointment with Tierney, whom he would meet in the House of Commons. I think it

would be right for you to summon George Ponsonby also to this meeting; there would be something awkward in leaving him out, and the invitation should come, I think, from yourself.

"I feel very desirous of shooting some pheasants to-morrow, and it really appears to me that the object of this meeting can be as well accomplished in my absence. If you will give me leave I will go to Osterley to-morrow morning, and will meet you at any hour you please on Wednesday to consider the result of your deliberation. The communication therefore, which we have to make to the Prince, need not be delayed. Pray write a single word to say whether you will allow me this holiday, perhaps the last I shall have for a good while."

Postscript.—"I am very much afraid the proposed arrangement for the Treasury will not do."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1811, January 24. Portman Square.]—"Though idle enough, God knows, I am not quite so bad as to put off business where you think my personal presence necessary, for no better reason than a desire to shoot a few pheasants; more especially as the business of the House of Commons may interfere with the proposed appointment on Wednesday. I will, therefore, be with you *to-morrow* at twelve, and go to Osterley afterwards."

ANSWERS OF KING'S PHYSICIANS, IN REPLY TO QUESTIONS OF THE PRINCE OF WALES REGARDING HIS MAJESTY'S HEALTH, TAKEN DOWN BY MR. ADAM, THE PRINCE'S CHANCELLOR.

1811, January 30. Carlton House.—"The period is now arrived when for the regulation of his conduct in the discharge of the painful duties which he is about to undertake, the Prince of Wales finds it necessary to obtain the fullest information with respect to the present situation of his Majesty. He has therefore required the attendance of his Majesty's physicians for that purpose.

"It is his Royal Highness's command that in answering the questions now to be proposed to them, the physicians should not confine themselves to the precise words of the enquiry, but that they should enter into all such explanations and details as may be necessary to furnish his Royal Highness with the most accurate knowledge of the nature, progress, and probable termination of his Majesty's disorder.

Answers.

No. 1. His Majesty still continues incapable of coming to Parliament or attending to public business.

Questions.

No. 1. Does his Majesty still continue incapable of coming to Parliament or attending public business?

Answers.

No. 2. My hopes of ultimate recovery have rather been increased since I delivered my opinion to the committees of the two Houses; always understanding by recovery a complete recovery, such as to include a total absence of all mental disorder or delusion, an entire cessation of all personal control and a full capacity in his Majesty to discharge the duties of his station.

No. 3. The state of the King's bodily health since those examinations has been and is such as to render such recovery more probable.

No. 4. I cannot speak with more confidence as to the time of such recovery.

No. 5. The progress towards recovery has been upon the whole as favourable as I then expected.

No. 6. If by period be meant the time which has elapsed since the commencement of the complaint, his Majesty is not so far advanced, nor are the symptoms now so favourable as in a similar period of his illness in 1801, which is the only illness of which I can speak from personal experience.

No. 7. I cannot look with any degree of confidence to his Majesty's complete recovery within any limited time.

Questions.

No. 2. Do your hopes of ultimate recovery continue the same as they have been expressed to the committees of the two Houses, or have they been varied in any and in what respect? Always understanding by recovery, a complete recovery, and such as to include a total absence of all disorder or mental delusion, an entire cessation of all personal control, and a full capacity in his Majesty to discharge the duties of his station?

No. 3. Has the state of the King's bodily health been such since those examinations, and is it now such as to render such recovery more or less probable?

No. 4. Can you now speak with more or less confidence as to the time of such recovery than you could at the period of those examinations? and if with more confidence state on what grounds your opinion rests?

No. 5. Has the progress towards recovery been upon the whole as favourable as you then expected?

No. 6. Is his Majesty advanced as far in his recovery and are the symptoms now as favourable as at a similar period of his former illness respectively, particularly in that of 1788-9?

No. 7. Can you look with any degree of confidence to his Majesty's complete recovery within any limited time?

Answers.

No. 8. I consider the answer to No. 7 as an answer to the questions Nos. 8, 9, 10.

Questions.

No. 8. Do you think it more or less probable that his Majesty's recovery will be within one month?

Within two months?

Within three months?

(Signed)

ROBERT WILLIS.

Carlton House,
January 30, 1811.

“The questions were by the command of the Prince of Wales and in the presence of his Royal Highness put to Doctor Robert Willis at Carlton House on this 30th day of January, 1811, and the answers taken down by me in writing and signed by Dr. Willis.

WILLIAM ADAM,

Chancellor to his Royal Highness
the Prince of Wales.

“The original is deposited with Colonel MacMahon, Secretary to his Royal Highness.”

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, January 31. Eden Farm.—“I have apprized Dr. Phillimore that you wish him to prepare a short supplementary note, stating ‘what will be the operation and effect of the law of nations respecting the trade and intercourse of neutrals with the enemy, when all the existing restrictions shall have been rescinded and withdrawn; particularly as to blockades, coasting trade, dependencies.’

“There is nothing in the tenor or purport of our Order of the 7th January, 1807, to pledge us to its continuance. That Order merely states that ‘his Majesty, though unwilling to distress nations not engaged in the war, feels himself bound to take some steps on his part to restrain the violence of the enemy, and to retort upon him the evils of his own injustice.’ Lord Grey’s letter to Mr. Rust treats that Order as ‘a mitigated measure of retaliation,’ and, after some strong and able reasoning, declares that ‘his Majesty cannot be induced to revoke the Order, till France shall not only have desisted from acting on the Decree of the 21st November, but shall have publicly and formally repealed it.’ I conceive that France has long desisted from acting under her Decree, and that she has also conditionally repealed it, by public and repeated declarations; that it shall cease, as soon as our Orders of 11th November shall have been repealed.

“Everything that I learn from different quarters convinces me that the King, though calmer, remains subject to unremitting derangement; and that though his recovery *may*

ultimately be accomplished, it is not expected even by the most sanguine of those who surround him to take place soon, or in any assignable period of time. *If* this should really be the case, I cannot feel a doubt that, in private honour, public duty, and good policy (both public and personal), we ought to encounter the risk, responsibility and gigantic difficulties which present themselves.

“But the whole question will probably have been decided on better data than what I can possess, before you can receive this letter.”

Enclosure :

MINUTE OF INSTRUCTION TO DR. PHILLIMORE—
DUPLICATE SENT TO LORD GREY.

“To prepare a general statement of the several Orders in Council since the commencement of the war, their extent and effect, with marginal references to their dates; also to specify the existing restrictions affecting the trade of neutrals, or our commerce with belligerents; also the existing dispensations from the navigation laws, whether by Orders in Council or licenses.

“Lastly, the *project* of an Order repealing all restrictions now in force, on a recital of expediency without reference to France or America; leaving in the result the whole Maritime Law as it stood before the war; only retaining such modifications or dispensations as have been sanctioned by experience, or acknowledged utility, together with a draft of a new naval instruction.”

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1811, January.] Eden Farm.—“Your small majority on Thursday last is a symptom of mortality to the minority unless the bulletins should greatly improve; and indeed, if they do not, I conceive that the restriction questions may be in great part disposed of in the Commons.

“In the event of a new Government, it would be a consideration of great embarrassment to the successors to which of the existing mischiefs and perils in Europe, America, and at home, a saving attention should first be applied. It is without probability that in the course of a few days the accounts both from Cadiz and Lisbon may be such as to convince the understanding even of the stupidest and most credulous of our countrymen. The commercial and American gangrenes wilfully brought on, are now so deeply rooted, that there will be great difficulty even in ascertaining the extent of the wound.”

EARL GREY and LORD GRENVILLE to THE
PRINCE OF WALES.

1811, February 2.—“The period is now arrived in which it is become necessary that your Royal Highness should

exercise the painful duty of deciding on the system of that Government which you are called to administer. In what hands the executive offices of that Government shall be placed your Royal Highness can alone determine, and Lord Grey and Lord Grenville have no more earnest wish than that the decision of this question may be such as may best promote the public interests, and the ease, happiness and glory of your Royal Highness.

“But they owe it both in gratitude and duty to solicit your Royal Highness’s attention to the following particulars, to which they had occasion to advert when they had last the honour of attending your Royal Highness, but which the urgency of the present moment renders them desirous of bringing more particularly under your Royal Highness’s view.

“By Mr. Percival’s letter it appears that the Regency Bill will be passed on Tuesday next, on which day your Royal Highness will be called upon to take the oaths in Council, and that (as he states) on the Tuesday following, but (as they collect from his own statement) on Friday or Saturday in next week, the further causes for holding the Parliament must be declared.

“The acts which your Royal Highness will be called upon to do on both these occasions are such as will, indispensably, require the advice of responsible Ministers, and cannot with propriety be suggested by any persons not invested with that character.

“The declaration to be made by your Royal Highness in the Privy Council on the first of those days, and the speech to the two Houses on the second must widely differ in expression and character, as they shall be prepared by the authors or by the opposers of the present system of Government.

“The question of adjourning or proroguing Parliament, and the mode of executing that measure must, in like manner, depend on the different opinions of those whose advice your Royal Highness may think fit to take. But, in any case, neither the decision nor the execution of this measure can possibly admit of delay.

“If therefore your Royal Highness shall determine to continue the King’s present servants in their offices, it is due to them that they should be apprised of this intention, so as to be prepared with such advice as they may wish to offer on these subjects.

“If, on the contrary, your Royal Highness should determine to resort to other counsels, some intermediate discussion of the arrangements and other details for giving effect to that resolution will evidently be necessary. Nor would it be possible without the utmost embarrassment to your Royal Highness’s affairs, that the time either for declaring or for acting upon it should be deferred beyond the day of the first Privy Council.

“The persons honoured with your Royal Highness’s confidence must appear at that Council as publicly responsible for the important decisions which should there be taken, as well as for the subsequent measures which that and every succeeding day will inevitably require. And the remaining interval will even then be scarcely sufficient for the various exigencies of such a situation and for the consideration of the urgent business which must immediately press at the first meeting of Parliament after so long a suspension of all real Government.” *Copy.*

Endorsed by Lord Grenville.—“This note was prepared and sent to Mr. Adam, February 2, 1811, but was not delivered by him to the Prince, he having in the interval already signified his resolution not to change the Administration.”

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, February 3. Eden Farm.—“Unless there should be a reasonable and well-founded expectation of a full and immediate recovery, the decision taken is unwise. How far it is consistent, dignified, and honourable depends much on the manner and terms in which it has been communicated and explained to you and to Lord Grey; and on other circumstances with which I am unacquainted.

“So far as my personal feelings are in question, I am an optimist on the occasion, and though not without feeling for the public predicament, I can be well contented to remain at this place till after Easter, when I must attend Lady Auckland and Mary for a few weeks in town.

“I hope to see you at Camelford House on Tuesday morning before eleven.”

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to THE SAME.

[1811, February 3. Buckingham House.]—“It is impossible not to rejoice with you personally on your deliverance from so much responsibility and difficulty of every sort by this decision taken by the P[rince], but it is equally impossible that your slumbers and those of every thinking man should not be dreadfully awake to all the public consequences that are to attach upon this measure. I am, however, much too selfish *for you* to pause on the joy I feel that you have so escaped.”

H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES to SPENCER PERCEVAL.

1811, February 4. Carlton House.—“The Prince of Wales considers the moment to be arrived which calls for his decision with respect to the persons to be employed in the administration of the executive Government of the country, according to the powers vested in him by the Bill passed by the two Houses of Parliament, and now on the point of receiving the great seal. The Prince feels it incumbent on him at this

precise juncture to communicate to Mr. Perceval his intentions not to remove from their stations those whom he finds there, as his Majesty's official servants; at the same time that the Prince owes it to the truth and sincerity of character which he trusts will appear in every action of his life, in whatever situation placed, explicitly to declare that the irresistible impulse of filial duty and affection to his beloved and afflicted father, leads him to dread that any act of the Regent might in the smallest degree have the effect of interfering with the progress of his sovereign's recovery. This consideration alone dictates the decision now communicated to Mr. Perceval. Having thus performed an act of indispensable duty, from a just sense of what is due to his own consistency and honour, the Prince has only to add that among the many blessings to be derived from his Majesty's restoration to health and to the personal exercise of his royal functions, it will not in the Prince's estimation be the least that that fortunate event will at once rescue him from a situation of unexampled difficulties and embarrassments, and put an end to a state of affairs ill-calculated (he fears) to sustain the interests of the United Kingdom in this awful and perilous crisis, and most difficult to be reconciled to the genuine principles of the British Constitution." *Copy.*

SPENCER PERCEVAL to THE PRINCE OF WALES.

1811, February 5. Downing Street.—“Mr. Perceval presents his humble duty to your Royal Highness and has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Royal Highness's letter of last night, which reached him this morning.

“Mr. Perceval feels it his duty to express his humble thanks to your Royal Highness for the frankness with which your Royal Highness has condescended explicitly to communicate the motives which have induced your Royal Highness to honour his colleagues and him with your commands for the continuance of their services in the stations entrusted to them by the King, and Mr. Perceval begs leave to assure your Royal Highness that in the expression of your Royal Highness's sentiments of filial and loyal attachment to the King, and of anxiety for the speedy restoration of his Majesty's health, Mr. Perceval and his colleagues can see nothing but additional motives for their most anxious exertions to give satisfaction to your Royal Highness in the only manner in which it can be given, by endeavouring to promote your Royal Highness's views for the security and happiness of the country.

“Mr. Perceval has never failed to regret the impression of your Royal Highness with regard to the provisions of the Regency Bill, which his Majesty's servants felt it their duty to recommend to Parliament. But he ventures to submit to your Royal Highness that, whatever difficulties the present awful crisis of the country and the world may create in the

administration of the executive Government, your Royal Highness will not find them in any degree increased by the temporary suspension of the exercise of those branches of the royal prerogative which has been introduced by Parliament in conformity to what was intended on a former similar occasion. And that whatever Ministers your Royal Highness might think proper to employ would find in that full support and countenance, which, as long as they were honoured with your Royal Highness's commands, they would feel confident they would continue to enjoy, ample and sufficient means to enable your Royal Highness effectually to maintain the great and important interests of the United Kingdoms. And Mr. Perceval humbly trusts that, whatever doubt your Royal Highness may entertain with respect to the constitutional propriety of the measures which have been adopted, your Royal Highness will feel assured that they would not have been recommended by his Majesty's servants, nor sanctioned by Parliament, but upon the sincere, though possibly erroneous, conviction that they in no degree touched upon the true principles and spirit of the Constitution.

"Mr. Perceval feels it his duty to add that he holds himself in readiness at any moment to wait upon your Royal Highness, and to receive any commands with which your Royal Highness may be graciously pleased to honour him." *Copy.*

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, February 8. Eden Farm.—"I enclose Dr. Phillimore's answer to the question which was sent to him; I have not retained any copy, and trust that you will have the goodness to keep this paper with the other which I put into your hands on Wednesday. The answer is creditable to Dr. Phillimore."

Private.—"I do not interrupt you, because I do not think it fair to add to the pressure to which you are at this moment subject; yet I am sufficiently awake and anxious respecting so strange and so unsettled a state of things. If the Regency should be established, as I presume it will after the forty-eight hours' respite which has been swindled, I cannot think it possible to hesitate as to the removal of a set of men whom we are charging with impeachable offences, and who have brought every interest of the country into extreme distress and danger. Your idea of a prorogation does not seem to be suspected; in addition to other good effects it would annihilate the Proxy List, which would not in any material proportion ever be restored."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1811, February 11. Eden Farm.—"According to present appearances it is indisputably a most fortunate circumstance for all concerned, and peculiarly for you, that the projected establishment of a new Government did not take place.

"I have seen a private note from a Ministerial man who

says : 'The King will be able *in a very short time* to resume his authority, but all circumstances considered that resumption will not be hurried.' I infer from those words that some Parliamentary facilities are expected from the continuance of a Regency which can be extinguished at an hour's notice.

"I requested Lord Moira to apologize to the Prince for my absence from the Privy Council. Lord M[oira] sent me an obliging answer, and took occasion to remark that 'the whole business, as it related to the Ministers, had been conducted with the happiest discrimination.'

"I have not yet mentioned the answer from Lord Francis Spencer. He writes : 'I wish to express through you to Lord Grenville the flattering sense which I entertain of the confidential communication made to me. Under the circumstances of the unsettled and temporary political arrangements which have now taken place, I have only to add that I feel much gratified and obliged by the favorable disposition expressed towards me.'

"Mr. Hatsill writes to me that above 360 private petitions have been presented for Bills, being above fifty more than in the last Session, and three times as many as the average twenty years ago. He attributes this to the superaccretion of wealth ; and, at the same time, the bankruptcies in the *Gazette* are ten times as many as the old average.

"Lord Wellington's last printed dispatches are good specimens of the manner in which he can sink and conceal the loss of a large garrison to the south of his position, and the defeat of a large detachment to the north. He exhibits at the same time a frightful want of intelligence."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1811, February 17. Eden Farm.—"The Duke of Marlborough inclosed to me on Friday a letter to him from your friend the Vice-Chancellor most earnestly soliciting an opposition to the Swindon and Aylesbury canals, as being contrary to the interests of the University. The Speaker had already applied to Mr. Vansittart to the same effect. It was evidently the wish of the Duke by this communication that I should apply to George Eden, whom I have accordingly desired to attend the committees, and to exert himself on the occasion, as far as the circumstances will allow with any degree of justice and propriety. Generally speaking, the proposers of the new canals, new roads (and such works), have the principle of public improvement decidedly in their favour. But that principle may, in possible cases, be abused to the injury or destruction of old and beneficial establishments.

"I should think that local considerations may make Lord Buckingham hostile to the University side of the question ; and that between the two you may possibly feel some embarrassment.

“Our success in the Isle of France is an event of solid importance to both our commercial and territorial interests in the East Indies, and it is personally creditable to Lord Minto. The ease with which we succeeded will mortify Lord Melville, who had often wished to try the experiment, but had been persuaded that it was dangerous in the extreme.

“It had escaped my recollection that the Irish Convention Act of 1793 was still in force. The abrupt and unqualified manner in which Mr. Pole’s letter now carries that Act into effect, without any notice or warning, shews at least a strong sense of alarm. How far the measure in question shews strong sense in any other acceptation, is another question; but it must have been in consequence of instructions from hence, and happens to be dated on the very day of the Regent’s speech. *Query*: Was the Regent apprized of it? Parliament certainly was not.

“Mr. Creevey, who seems to be in the *enragé’s* class adverted on Friday last illiberally and most incorrectly to the Land Tax Vote of last Session, and hooked into the same speech the hackneyed attack on Lord Buckingham’s office. The *Morning Chronicle* reported it wretchedly. I happened to see the *Morning Post*, and felt obliged to Mr. Charles Wynne for having stated so properly that no more was done than had been agreed to be done under your administration.

“I collect from a private note, which I saw this morning, that the King has something of appearances and condition which led to a fear of relapse last Thursday night.

“Admiral Stopford, who arrived within the latitude of the Isle of France, and consequently within the station, though at 2,000 miles distance, claims his Flag share, and I understand is not unlikely to succeed. This will be ‘close shaving.’ Bertie will be the less pitied, because he is said to have played sharp in sending off Drury a few days before the landing. After all, I am told that the prize money may not in the whole exceed 300,000*l.*, and may fall short of that amount.

“I am ready at any time to drive to a town breakfast, though very busy at present both in the farm and gardens.”

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, February 19. Eden Farm.—“It is not a thing to be thought of that Mr. Charles Wynne, under the recent pressure of domestic affliction, should be plagued to correct a misstatement which at worst is not very material. The just and right mode would be that Mr. Creevey should be apprized of his inaccuracy, and should handsomely and voluntarily acknowledge it; but perhaps this is rather to be wished than to be expected. The reasonableness of the claim (for a long service in many respects expensive) was not only ascertained and admitted by your Government, it was meant that the compensation should have been 1,000*l.* a year, and Mr. Percival gave only 6,000*l.* or 600*l.* a year for ten years

After this, it is certainly somewhat unfair to represent it as a favour conferred by the present Ministers. They voted the same sum, which you had meant for only six years' service.

"It seems to me that the Regent should require a revocation of that wild Irish measure. So far as individual credit and comfort are in question, it certainly is better for you and your immediate friends that the Regent did not remove the Ministers. But on the other hand infinite public good might have been done even within the short space of a month; and, after all, a change will still be unavoidable if the King's convalescence should be as slow as it still possibly may be. In the meantime, though I think that the Prince's letter to Mr. Percival manly and explicit, it is impossible to deny that it admits an awkward position, 'that the chance of agitating the King's mind is a consideration paramount to the great interests of the Empire.' That principle will be equally prevalent after the recovery, and indeed already has an imperceptible but strong influence on the public mind.

"Sir Henry Halford is not a voluminous writer, and the whole vocabulary of his works during the last 18 weeks may be comprized in an artificial ringing of changes of about twenty words. But I am told that his literature is to be distinguished by a peerage to his wife."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1811, February 27. Eden Farm.—"I collect from the papers that you are in town, and that among your other occupations you are attending to the state of the criminal laws in matters of revenue. I have sent for the printed Bill.

"The actual conjuncture has inflicted a sort of palsy on public affairs, but that conjuncture cannot in its nature have any permanence. For the moment it gives all the benefits of strength to a Government of great imbecility.

"The decision of the House of Commons against the proposed canals will preserve you from some embarrassment respecting your University. That decision is somewhat of a job. George Eden joined in it reluctantly, and could not bring himself to understand that by the effect of the new canal, the Thames would resemble the Manzanares, of which river the Spaniards say that 'it is in more danger of dying of gravel than of dropsy.'

"If the *Courier* speaks truth (which it seldom does), Lord Edward Somerset supersedes Mr. Farquhar at the Isle of France. This would be a most harsh proceeding in respect to Lord Minto. I have sometimes thought that you in the House of Lords (or, if you should dislike it, William Elliot in the Commons) might with great justice and propriety call on the Ministers to say whether they mean to return thanks to the Governor-General for having planned and conducted

that business, and to the officers for carrying it into effect. Lord Wellesley was repeatedly thanked for services less solid. Lady Minto is most violent at the neglect and coldness of the Ministers, and sends us an extract from Lord Minto's last letter, in which he says that he had received from home a discouraging and hesitating approbation of his plan, but he had nevertheless risked it and with good confidence of success.

"I infer from the Dublin article that Mr. W. Pole's rash order is in effect withdrawn, by the intervention of 'your only true peace maker, the If.'"

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, March 1. Eden Farm.—"The conduct and councils of the Ministers in respect to America seems to me to be an infatuation of the most fatal tendency to all the best interests of the King's dominions. Perhaps the same remark might be applied to our predicament in Spain, Portugal and Ireland. But our countrymen must be supposed either to see these matters in a different point of view, or to be so stupidly indifferent to their own distresses and dangers, that it is a loss both of time and temper to advert to such considerations."

EARL GREY to THE SAME.

1811, March 4. Howick.—"If the expected election at the Charter House should really appear to depend on my vote, nothing but the most melancholy necessity shall prevent my attending it. I should imagine it could not take place before Easter, and if the Archbishop of Canterbury can be prevailed upon to fix it afterwards, I hope the things will be in such a state as previously to admit of my removing my daughter to London, or going myself for a single day. She is, I hope, better, but still far from being in a state to relieve me from all anxiety.

"I never thought less of politics than since I left London, but the Irish business could not fail to excite my attention. It seems likely to turn out better for the Prince than I had expected, though after all I shall think it very bad if Pole is allowed to retain his office.

"I never shall believe in the King's being really well, without the strongest personal evidence of it.

"In this country I hear of nothing but the greatest distress amongst all descriptions of persons."

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1811, March 5. Eden Farm.—"I have received a valedictory letter in most friendly terms from Mr. Pinkney, whose recall is in every point of view a consideration of great

bitterness to him. I transcribe the following paragraph :
 ‘I mean to trouble you with another letter as soon as I am ready to depart. I lament sincerely the unfortunate state of the relations of the two countries ; and the prospect of its becoming yet more unfortunate, if this Government shall continue to act upon the principles which have made my departure necessary. I try to hope for better times, but I confess that I have more fear than hope.’

“According to present appearances it is an irretrievable calamity in respect to America and all the interests dependent thereon, that the Regent did not change the Ministry. The eventual inconveniency to you and to your friends might have been great, but it would have been well compensated.

“I received a letter yesterday from Lord Grey chiefly to mention the recovery of his daughter from a most dangerous abcess in the side (caused by a hurt in riding). He says that he shall not come to town till she shall be sufficiently re-established to come with him. He speaks with indignation of the rashness and folly exhibited in Ireland. The *Courier* of last night very impudently says that ‘Mr. Pole’s well-timed measure had complete success, Lord French having declared that it was not a Catholic Committee.’ And in the next column there appears Lord French’s signature to the adjourned proceedings of ‘the Catholic Committee.’

“I understand that three of the physicians are to be discontinued ; but I do not believe that the recovery is more complete, or likely to be more complete, than that of many unhappy persons who continue deranged though able to see their friends, and to confer on the ordinary occurrences of life.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1811, March 7. [Cleveland Square.]—“I write you a line to tell you that, by the channel which you can easily guess, Lord Buckingham yesterday heard that Lord Wellesley had forced upon the Cabinet a pretty decisive measure in support of the war of Portugal. He has asked and has obtained from our Ministers a subsidy for Portugal of one *million*, in addition to that granted to them already. Perceval is said to have hesitated for some time, but has finally consented, and, according to my informant, a message was to be brought down as on Friday next to this effect. I suppose this step will be supported by Canning, who made two days ago a long and prepared tirade in defence of the war of Portugal, and arguing from it the probable destruction of Bonaparte’s power on the Continent.

“Holland is furious against Ellenborough, who was coarse enough, by what I hear ; but then it is no slight matter to question, as Holland did, the propriety of his decision in sending Finnerty to a distant prison. I have no toleration for Finnerty, and therefore cannot be impartial on a subject

so closely connected with him and his associates. Alexander has resigned for Lord Caledon ; General Grey, too, is recalled, and Craddock goes to the Cape with the double authority. Dundas has formally announced to Sir G. Nugent his appointment. Halford tells Watkin that the King has had an *exacerbation* ; but he is supposed to have been calm again yesterday.

“ Lord Moira’s head is quite turned ; he talks of nothing but the labours of his position, the multitude of his letters, and the severe pressure upon his time by the solicitations of all persons on all subjects. I heard him on this topic in mute astonishment.”

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, March 7. Eden Farm.—“ I was in town yesterday morning, and learnt through a good channel that though the King’s mind is calm and collected during a great part of every day, he is still liable in every conversation to wander into particular subjects without end or possibility of restraint ; such as projects for a new regulation of the ribbons and Garter ; fanciful improvements of Kensington Gardens, *et cetera*. It is settled that he shall remove to Kew, and he approves it. I conceive on the whole that there remains much doubt both as to the sufficiency of the recovery and as to the chance of its permanence.

“ Mr. Vansittart tells me that the Budget is not to be brought forward till after Easter. The notion of a tax on coals at the pit has been much discussed at present, as under former Ministries ; but I do not believe that so ‘ inflammable ’ a proposition will be risked, though it would be highly popular in the metropolis, and perhaps favourable to the sea-coal trade.

“ It is supposed that Mr. Percival means, through his Mercantile Committee, to lend six or seven millions to the merchants. The embarrassments and prospects of commerce (thanks to the Orders in Council) are now very different from what they were on the former occasion when this doubtful experiment was found serviceable.

“ Lord Ellenborough is said to have talked himself, on the occasion of Lord Holland’s motion, into an unguarded warmth and violence of mind, to a degree which gave pain to every friend who was present.

“ Napoleon, in his critique on the Regent’s speech, has some palpable hits on the follies and falsehoods of our Portuguese campaign, but on other subjects he shews embarrassment and soreness.

“ I was told yesterday (but do not vouch for the truth of it) that Lord Romney having left very scanty means to his two unmarried daughters, Lord Egremont had in the handsomest manner given to them 5,000*l.* apiece.”

Private.—"I have a letter from my son Morton, dated yesterday, in which he says: 'Scott, the Chancellor's son, told me to-day that he had a letter from his father on Friday, which mentioned that the King had been going on worse for the last two or three days.' I believe that there was some alarm in the beginning, but that it subsided."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1811, March 11. Eden Farm.—"I hope this will find you still at Dropmore in the enjoyment of this beautiful weather. I really see no use in attending Parliament at this moment; but many events may arise to make an attendance both important and necessary. I presume that you have received the report of the Committee on the Commercial Embarrassments. It conveys nothing to my mind beyond the certainty of greater and multiplied embarrassments. In the meantime a new flood of paper will be added to a paper currency already too large, and that too in a manner operating unfavourably on all the resources of public credit and economy. The assistance to be thus given may afford time for the disposal of the accumulated manufactures and produce at a loss ultimately ruinous to the proprietors; and it will have in its rear a long procession of new distresses to the other merchants and manufacturers whose sales will be suspended. Much of this calamity may be traced to the mad and obstinate perseverance in the Orders in Council.

"The Report of the Committee makes no allusion to the approaching convulsion in our commercial credits and balances with the American States.

"In the last return from the Bank it appears that their issue of paper is now about three millions higher than when the Report of the Bullion Committee was made; add the six millions of Exchequer Bills to be now furnished and we shall have nine millions of additional paper currency to accompany a total stagnation of trade.

"The Duke of Gloucester sent a message to me relative to the votes of my brother's two sons, for Cambridge. I wrote yesterday to his Royal Highness that I had already adverted to them, and that he might depend on them.

"On this day forty years, I was appointed to the auditorship of Greenwich Hospital, which Lord Thurlow gave up on becoming Attorney General. And I had the curiosity on Saturday last to call for a list of the individuals now living, of the twenty-three or twenty-five hundred then residing in the Hospital. The return is, one Lieutenant, one of the porters, two of the pensioners and one of the matrons. Total five. To the number who have gone off may be added the still larger number of those who since 1771 have been appointed and are not now living."

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, March 26. Eden Farm.—“I infer from yesterday’s bulletin that the ‘periodical exacerbation’ had taken place on Friday and Saturday last. And I incline to infer from the *Extraordinary Gazette* that the British troops under General Graham fought like lions, and were killed and wounded like lambs; and that at the expense of one-fourth of our force we saved the remainder from a most perilous position, in the result of which we have not made any step towards raising the siege, but have crippled our own force and have quarrelled with our allies; for this feat, however, we fired the Tower guns.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1811, April 1. Eden Farm.—“I have a letter this morning from Lord Francis Spencer, partly to confirm to me that the Duke of Marlborough, who had undergone a surgical operation of some peril, is now out of danger, and even well enough to quit his chamber; and partly to explain the misfortune of Lord Francis’s brother-in-law, Lord William Fitzroy. Lord Francis adds: ‘I am surprised to hear of Mr. Percival’s intentions for Cambridge, by the machinery of removing Gibbs to the Common Pleas. I fear that he will be a formidable opponent to Smythe, who will probably think it right to stand another contest.’

“I still believe that Massena’s reported retreat is merely a military movement which may bring forward some destructive actions between the armies, and, at all events, will still leave us in the same predicament of fruitless and ruinous expenditure; and I farther continue to believe that General Graham’s battle will not have produced a raising of the siege of Cadiz.

“I am curious to see the account of the Consolidated Fund for the 5th instant. I hear that the loan must be from twenty to twenty-five millions; interest from 1,200,000*l.* to 1,500,000*l.* Some addition to the assessed taxes is now talked of.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1811, April 10.] Eden Farm.—“On returning to this place I found your note of yesterday. We shall be most happy to pass three days at Dropmore; but we can hardly offer ourselves before that same 5th day of June, whilst our household is resettling here, and indeed it would hardly do justice to the flower garden to go sooner.

“I collected to-day from Mr. Rose, whom I met at the Speaker’s, that there are great doubts whether the Distillery Bill can be carried even in the House of Commons, ‘the Scotch members having taken a general alarm.’

“I have reason to believe that nothing is yet decided either

as to the question of the loan, or the means of finding an interest for it. The Distillery Bill was to have been stated as furnishing two or three hundred thousand pounds.

“There is a wonderful diversity of opinions and reports respecting the King’s predicament. I was told this morning by an intelligent observer of no party, that a declaration of convalescence would be risked, that a re-establishment would follow, that Sir William Scott and the Speaker would be peers, and that a canvass would in the meantime go secretly forwards for two Oxford vacancies. I saw no symptom of this in the Speaker, *enfin, nous verrons*. And also as to Spain and Portugal, *enfin, nous verrons*.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1811, April 20. Eden Farm.—“We are this morning neck-deep in the bustles and annoyances of our removal to Lower Brook Street; and I write chiefly to say that if till the 5th June we can do any town businesses for Lady Grenville or for you, we shall be glad to be so employed. To me any interruption will be a work of charity, for my time will hang heavily. I shall go seldom to the House of Lords, still seldomer to great dinners, and never to assemblies.

“It will not be easy for me to give any vote either way on the Distillery Bill. My son-in-law, Mr. Wedderburn, has a considerable and leading interest in its success. He has had the delicacy never to talk to me about it, though he lives in daily and unreserved intercourse with me. I understand that he expects to lose the measure; but it might give pain to him if my only vote in the Session were hostile to his personal speculations.

“It is true that the surplus of the Consolidated Fund maintains a fair comparison with the preceding year, and that it is about 1,200,000*l.* beyond the sum for which it was taken; but there is nevertheless every reasonable cause to fear that the produce for the year ending the 5th July next will exhibit a terrible falling off.

“Lord Grey talks of moving to repeal the Standing Order relative to Divorce Bills. I hope that he will not move it in your absence. It would be difficult to be well supported in maintaining the Order, and with the general approbation of the public. But the whole issue of the consideration is changed by the Scotch transaction; and besides, the apathy and the idleness of the Right Reverend Bench on these subjects are disgusting and discouraging. What do you recommend to be done?

“All the newspapers, the *Chronicle* included (except the *British Press*) seem to me to be equally foolish as to the Portuguese business. Nothing has yet appeared or happened to make it intelligible or creditable that Massena’s army can be meant to be withdrawn; such a measure would occasion

the extreme distress and probable loss of all the other French armies. If then he is still to co-operate, which I cannot doubt, it is to me self-evident that he will manœuvre southwards, and probably so as to occasion a desperate disappointment to our sanguine countrymen.

“The King’s unhappy state is now in its seventh month.”

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, April 23. Lower Brook Street.—“The existence which I have in this overgrown town is hostile to all my habits and inclinations, and indeed to all my notions of cheerfulness and of health ; and the fine weather increases my impatience. But the 5th of June will arrive in six weeks.

“In the meantime it seems to be believed that the King’s competence will be declared soon. And yet I am still assured by those who ought to know that there has not yet been one day or night in which there have not been returns of self-delusion and of wanderings from reason.

“With respect to other public subjects, a general palsy prevails, and I do not foresee anything to induce me even to look into the House of Lords.

“Two long debates are expected in the other House next week of the Bullion question. All Mr. Horner’s motions are to be negatived, and Mr. Vansittart’s are expected to be supported.

“I cannot find that in all the materials which have been produced and printed, there is any trace of information respecting what I conceive to be an essential part of the whole discussion. I mean a statement of the amount of Exchequer Bills purchased and kept by the Bank at different periods ; not merely at the requisition of Government, but as private purchase for the emolument of the Bank. It was confidentially intimated to me some time ago by a very acute friend in the commercial line, that those purchases have been great, and that for evident reasons they have been encouraged by Government, though made, in fact, with the money of the public. It is the more necessary to inquire into this, because the general amount of Exchequer Bills has of late years been carried to an unexampled extent. I am told that a fortnight ago, immediately previous to the last operation, the amount was from thirty to thirty-five millions sterling. There is not any honest pretence for refusing information on this point, and without that information the question cannot be fairly and fully opened.

“It was suggested to me from the same quarter that it would be an efficient check, until the Bank can pay in specie at a period to be limited to make them liable, when their notes are tendered to a certain amount, to give in return new notes bearing an interest. I am unable, on the first view of this idea, to say how far it could be modified to any good purpose ; but it seems to deserve a thought.

“From the anecdote of the St. Alban’s Tavern toasts, and from other circumstances, it is supposed by many that the Duke of York will resume the command.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1811, April 25. Lower Brook Street.—“I do not know that I am quite satisfied with the manner in which Mr. Horner’s resolutions are drawn. I understand that the first ten or twelve were by Mr. Huskisson, and those which follow by Mr. Horner, except the resolution stating that ‘it is the duty of the Bank,’ *et cetera*, which is by Mr. H. Thornton. I learnt this morning from Mr. Tierney that Mr. Mallet is to move to-day for an account of the Exchequer Bills. The account will be refused on the strange pretext the Bank Directors are not liable to be called upon respecting the private transactions of their establishment. That reason would be more plausible if the suspension of their money payments had not made it the duty of Parliament to ascertain how far that suspension is applied to abuses.

“Surely it is an objection to Mr. Horner’s resolutions that it states an existing and progressive mischief, and then proposes an experimental remedy to be administered at the end of two years.

“I heard from a courtly quarter this morning that the King has been very irritable during the last three days.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1811, May.] Lower Brook Street.—“I am this moment come home, very warm and very tired; and we are to be at Lord Forteseue’s punctually at six.

“But I wish to mention that I was this morning in the chair at the quarterly and annual meeting of the Trustees of the Hunterian Museum, when, on my stating that there is a vacancy in our number, the Speaker in handsome terms explained the peculiar obligations due to you from the Trust, and your peculiar fitness to be one of the Trustees. All who were present concurred in that opinion, and I adjourned the meeting to Tuesday, the 21st, and sent notices for the election; and I will write a private line to Lord Spencer and Lord Stafford to desire their attendance; which will be right, though the choice will be unanimous.

“Mr. Horne is not a Trustee, but he was present and peculiarly delighted that the Museum should have the honour of your name in the Trustees.

“He gave me a very acceptable account of your health, so far as his opinions go.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1811, May 4. Cleveland Square.—“Lord Grey told me yesterday that in the very uncertain state of the King’s health,

he thought it an indispensable duty not to let the Session advance nearer to a close without calling upon the Government for some revision of the subject of the Regency, both in regard to the protracted illness of the King, and to the total want of all provision in case anything should happen to the Prince during the King's illness. Lord Grey's motion seems to be to state these difficulties and dangers, and to invite the Ministers to bring forward some measures in remedy of them, and ultimately upon their refusal so to do, then to propose something himself. As I have no doubt that this last case will be the practical case, so I confess also that I think the difficulties of originating any measure *now* that shall be applicable to the *future* contingency of the Prince's death or illness, are almost insuperable; nor do I imagine that there is apprehension enough about the health of the Prince to invite the public and the Parliament to guard, by entering into very embarrassing discussions, against a danger which they do not feel to be of any near or pressing probability. The inclination of my own mind is to believe that the only question that we should now ask ourselves is whether the prevailing opinion of the improbability of the King's recovery makes it advisable for us to renew the discussion of the Regency before the close of the Session. Our doing so would be subject to the invidious imputation of trying to force ourselves into office, unless there should be found to be a pretty universal distrust of the King's recovery, and a desire in the public to see the question of Regency re-considered.

"Is there then a general belief in the country that the King will not recover, and is there furthermore a desire of change founded upon this? I know not how to judge, but certainly I should, as at present advised, say no to both these questions, but more especially to the last.

"I conceive that if any such measure as that of Lord Grey's were to be adopted, the answer which the Ministers would make would be, that Parliament had already determined the whole of this question by extending the Regency Act with its present limitations to next February; and that no such change had taken place in regard to the King's health as would demand from Parliament a change in those provisions which it has already adopted. This answer, good or bad, seems to me to be quite good enough for the Parliament to whom it will be addressed, and for the majority who will be invited by the Ministers to adopt it.

"For myself I see no great objection to the proposal of a formal report to Parliament of the exact state of the King's health before the Session closes, and, fairly speaking, I think such a measure due to the Parliament and the country; but I do not believe that much effect would be produced even if such a measure were to be carried.

"I have just mentioned this to you that you may turn it in your mind, because Lord Grey may possibly not have time

to write to you about it before you come on Monday, and it is important enough to demand some consideration.

“I hear that the King has been better the last two days, but prior to this I am assured that he had been in a state of very great irritation, and I am told that the general opinion of all medical men in London is that he will not recover. Among the most recent proofs of delusion he is said to have been occupied with a reconsideration of the Liturgy and the marriage service.

“The Berkeley cause, however, is more talked of than the King, and I am sorry to say that it is conducted with an appearance of high protection that gives much scandal. The Prince Regent is said to have expressed his inclination to give evidence, and the Chancellor and Lord Erskine have found that he may do so *as a peer of Parliament*. I think this a very mistaken proceeding. The Prince being vested by law with all the powers and capacities of kingly power is not in my view a peer of Parliament; if he were, he is subject to the orders of the House, and you could send the Regent to the Tower for any contempt or disobedience.

“Your abstaining from the praise of Lord Wellington, after the speeches of Grey and Ponsonby and Lord Lansdowne and Whitbread, is quoted *ad invidiam*, and your headache of last week is magnified into a relapse.”

EARL GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, May 4. Portman Square.—“We are now arrived at a period of the Session when I feel a strong call of public duty to bring under the consideration of the House of Lords the present situation of the King, and the extreme embarrassment to which the Government might be exposed, if we should separate for the summer without having made some provision to guard against it.

“The King is, I believe, certainly worse, and my conviction is stronger than ever that he never can recover so as to be again capable of exercising his functions. But this, in my view of the case, makes no difference. If he should recover we must always be in danger of a relapse and of a recurrence of all the evils which attended the discussion of the Regency from November to February. If he should not, the difficulties would be still greater in the event of the death or incapacity of the Prince. If it took three months to make the necessary provision in consequence of the suspension of the royal authority, where the heir apparent was of full age and acknowledged by everybody to be the only person to whom the executive Government could with propriety be entrusted, what would it require in the case of a minor princess, where not only the sanction of the *quantum* of power, but the still more delicate question of the persons to whom it should be committed, must necessarily arise?

"I feel therefore that the Parliament cannot leave things in this state without a gross dereliction of duty. It is a subject which, on all accounts, would probably be brought forward by the persons, whoever they may be, holding at the time the situation of confidential advisers to the King or Regent. But if they neglect it, or upon its being proposed to them refuse to take any measure upon it, that duty must devolve upon others.

"Under this impression I think it would be right to state the matter generally for the consideration of the House, and to question the Ministers as to their intentions upon it, on the first occasion on which there is a full attendance in the House; and such an opportunity will occur on Monday, when the Distillery Bill will probably produce such an attendance.

"I should have wished to have had a better opportunity of consulting with you about it previously, and I had hoped that you probably would remain longer in town than I now understand to be your intention, having heard from Lord Spencer that you do not mean to stay above two days, and not to return; the time seemed to me to press, as I should not wish to take this step in your absence, or without your full approbation. If you see no objection, I will state my opinion on Monday, but if you disapprove, I will at least suspend, if I do not abandon my intention altogether. If you propose being in town early on Monday, I will call on you before the meeting of the House, at any hour you will appoint."

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, May 12. Lower Brook Street.—"Being in town at the time of the Prince's last *levée*, and not having prevailed on myself to attend it, I desired Lord Chichester to make an apology for me. The Prince graciously directed Colonel MacMahon to inform me that he would receive me any morning that I might call at Carlton House, understanding only that if he should be found engaged at the time, I would go again. I went accordingly to-day, and orders had been given to admit me. He was kind in his manner, and very communicative. He spoke without reserve of the irksomeness of his own situation, which he considered as painful to himself, unpleasant even to the present Ministers, and detrimental to the public interests. He adverted with a degree of eagerness to the notice given yesterday by Mr. Whitbread. His whole conference with me assumed an utter improbability, in his opinion, of the King's recovery, and the expediency of using the first practicable mode and moment of getting rid of the restrictions. He told me that the King is worse even by the last night accounts, and also that there are symptoms of the constitution being affected. He says that there is a sort of schism in the Lords' Council, in which Lords Eldon and Ellenborough and the Master of the Rolls and the

Archbishop of York act together against the other four, who are disposed to be sanguine for the recovery and to act accordingly. I understood from him that Mr. Perceval expects to be able to prorogue Parliament about the 10th July; but that the bulletins in the meantime may make it expedient possibly to take some measure. The conversation branched into other details immaterial to be stated at present. I thought it evident from the whole impression that you and Lord Grey see less of him than one would wish; but I do not know with whom the deficiency rests.

"In the meantime I look forward with delight to the leaving this town to-morrow three weeks."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1811, May 15. Lower Brook Street.—"Your Bristol business would not give five minutes' trouble; and indeed if it were troublesome I would undertake it with pleasure; but not foreseeing such a requisition, I fear that I have precluded myself.

"My late indisposition took place when I was attending the Bill for Lord Francis and Lord Sydney Osborn respecting the Beaulieu estates. I have since answered to several individuals that I must abstain from going to the House for the remainder of this Session. And on Monday last upon a formal application made to me by Mr. J. Tarleton from Liverpool to take charge of the Liverpool Dock Bill, I answered that I was for the present unable to attend.

"Lord Fortescue, who goes frequently to the House on the Berkeley and Banbury Peerages, could most properly present the Bristol petition, and Lord Walsingham, on a short intimation from him, from you, or from me, would do the needful in the Committee."

Private.—"In referring so much to indisposition, I should explain that I have lately felt a painful stricture on the chest, on all occasions either of quick walking, or of any exertion of voice or *mind*. I am assured by my medical advisers that all this is only a bilious result, and the regimen recommended seems to lessen the complaint. But I say little on the subject at home, as it would only give an unnecessary alarm and anxiety."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1811, May 21. Lower Brook Street.—"The Secretary of the Hunterian Museum will inform you that the business of this morning's meeting went off pleasantly and unanimously. The official people who were present seemed to believe the Bristol report of our three days' engagement and victory near Almeida; still there appears to me more subject for anxiety than for confidence.

"The King's exhibition of horsemanship is talked of as a

great step towards immediate recovery, and yet there are many who assert that the derangement is in no degree removed.

“The last night’s Budget is popular, and nobody wishes to look narrowly into a measure which postpones new taxes, and at the same time suspends a part of the difficulties of Ireland. It is now believed that a prorogation may be practicable in little more than three weeks.

“Lady Berkeley’s pretended marriage in 1785 is now considered as exploded ; and may possibly become the subject of a criminal prosecution.

“It is possible that the Roxburgh Appeal may at last be decided, and in favour of Sir James Innes.

“Lord Shaftesbury leaves all his estates to his brother, who complains bitterly of the poverty that will come on him, and represents the estates to be only 1,400*l.* [14,000*l.*] a year, and charged by the will with legacies of 75,000*l.* to Lady Shaftesbury, 2,500*l.* to the daughter, exclusive of various other legacies, debts [and charges], which for a long term of years must swallow up the whole rental.

“I am somewhat better in health, but as yet by no means well. I look with impatience towards the close of my town campaign.”

EARL GREY TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, May 23. Portman Square.—“Yesterday in the House of Lords, Lord Moira expressed a wish to speak with me on the subject of his situation with the Prince of Wales, which, he said, had become extremely embarrassing. This morning was appointed for me to call on him for this purpose, and I am just returned from St. James’s Place.

“He began by telling me that the President of the Court of Session was dead, and that he had written to the Prince to urge the claim of H. Erskine to succeed to the vacant office. Upon this, I said nothing ; he then proceeded to the subject of our interview. He stated, what I was very well prepared to hear, that the Prince was daily accustoming himself more and more to these Ministers, that they had found out the way of managing him, that finding himself in possession of the power of the Government, which went on without any trouble or difficulty to him, his natural dislike of exertion increased his indisposition to change ; and that these feelings were very much assisted by the constant endeavours of the Duke of Cumberland and Lord Yarmouth to encourage and confirm them. He said, at the same time, that he did not believe any of the Ministers to be personally very agreeable to the Prince, and that they acted with the greatest impolicy in refusing him the disposal even of the most inconsiderable offices when he applied for them. Under these circumstances, he said he felt himself very much embarrassed in his intercourse with the Prince, and that he abstained as much as

possible from advising or interfering on any political subjects. I here took occasion to say that in doing so he, in my opinion, acted with the greatest propriety, and added that consistent with the principles on which I had always regulated my conduct, if I had been honoured with the Prince's confidence, I certainly should, from the moment he appointed other Ministers, have declined giving any advice upon any subject on which they alone as his constitutional and responsible advisers ought to counsel him. Whether he applied this to what he had just told me about the President of the Court of Session I know not, but I certainly had that proceeding in view.

"He then came to what appeared to be the real subject on which he was desirous of explaining himself to me, and, referring to the description he had given of the present state of things, he said that looking forward to the period when the Prince might consider himself as being in possession of the full power of the Government, though he might be disinclined to a total change, he thought it probable that he might wish to introduce some of his friends, and to patch up an Administration consisting in part of them, and partly of the present Ministers. This he took great care repeatedly to guard, by saying it was only a speculation and conjecture of his own, that it might not, and he hoped it never would, be realised ; but that according to the principle on which he had acted of always attaching himself to the Prince, if such a proposition were made to him, and an office proposed to him, the Ministers professing to act upon a system of which he could approve, that it would be impossible for him to refuse it. He instanced Ireland, and said that if it were offered him on the same terms on which he was to have had it from us, he could not, on the principle which he had stated, avoid taking it. He again professed his indisposition to act with these men, and the hope that no such proposal would be made to him, but that he thought it necessary that I should be apprized beforehand of the feelings which would influence his conduct if the case arose.

"My answer was very short. I acknowledged the openness of his conduct ; I said that he alone could judge of his own situation and of the duties it imposed on him, that the event to which he looked had always appeared to me to be the most probable result of the circumstances in which the Prince had placed himself, and that for myself I had only to say that if such a proposition, as he had alluded to, were made to me, I certainly should give the same answer to it that I gave a year and a half ago. The conversation then turned on the common topics of the day and we parted.

"I called in my way home on your brother, intending to communicate to him what had passed, but I unfortunately did not find him. I shall, however, see him on Saturday, when he dines with me.

“ You will have seen the fate of Sidmouth’s wise Bill, which I think must have amazed you. In presenting the petitions from Bristol, which were very numerous signed, and were intended to have been presented by you, I said that from my knowledge of your opinions on the subject of toleration I could not doubt, if you had been present, that you would have supported the object of the petitioners. In this I hope I was not wrong.

“ You will also have seen that the House of Commons have addressed the Prince to order an issue of 54,000*l.* to Mr. Palmer, in virtue of the claim which you know he has been so long urging upon the Post Office. This subject has, as you also know, been before the House of Lords in the shape of a Bill. The evidence taken in the House of Commons was communicated to us, and upon an enquiry of our own the Bill was rejected. Under these circumstances it appears to me that this vote of the House of Commons is so violent an invasion of the privileges of the House of Lords, that it is impossible to submit to it, but I am most anxious to know your opinion upon it.

“ The Berkeley cause proceeds from bad to worse. It seems, in the present state of the evidence, absolutely impossible to believe that the pretended marriage of 1785 took place ; whilst this continues I cannot fix a time for visiting you at Dropmore.”

Postscript.—“ No confirmation yet of the news from Portugal, but I have little doubt that it is substantially true. The question of re-appointing the Duke of York has been submitted to the Cabinet, and they have advised the Prince to re-establish him in the command of the army, before the expiration of the Session.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, May 25. Cleveland Square.—“ Lord Grey has given me an account of his conversation with Moira, but did not describe to me as strongly as you seem to have understood him, his intention of a final refusal *in limine*. I very much agree with you in considering such a refusal as wanting in propriety and in attention to the public interests ; I agreed with your answer in preference to that which was given by Lord Grey in 1809, and I think a final refusal *in limine* still less warrantable and defensible now than in 1809, because the position in which Perceval then stood, as the King’s Prime Minister, gave to his overture all the appearance of a proposal to receive an accession to *his* Government rather than an invitation to form and to originate a new one ; an objection which cannot be said to exist in equal force under the present circumstances, or to call for the same answer as had been made by Grey under the impression of that objection. If the Prince proposes to frame a new Government, I know not

what right Lord Grey or you have to say to him that you will belong to no Government that is not formed by yourselves upon a principle of exclusion ; and whether you have or have not a right to say so, I am persuaded that the public voice would be, as it ought to be, most decidedly against the avowal of any such pretensions. I am therefore strongly of opinion with you that no such refusal must be made *in limine*. But though I think it highly important, for your own sakes, as well as for the public interests, that you should make no such harsh rejection *in limine*, and that you should not give your enemies the advantage that they would derive from such misconduct on your part, still I feel persuaded that the measure itself will fail. Indeed, my own opinion has long been that, if the Prince should make any change in the Government, there would probably be the form of an overture to Lord Grey and to you, but that it would be so clogged and limited as to render it quite impossible for either of you to accede ; and that recourse would then be had to others who will be ready and willing to take any share in office which may be offered to them. I have been the more confirmed in this expectation from all that I have heard of the increasing influence of the Duke of Cumberland and of Lord Yarmouth at Carlton House, and this last conversation of Moira with Grey puts the matter out of all doubt. I think the House of Commons would have shown more prudence and temper if they had not carried Palmer's Address ; but that the Ministers who were beat in the House of Commons should advise the Regent to refuse, for the first time in good days, his concurrence in the Address of the House of Commons is in my mind the greatest indignity ever offered to the House by any Minister that ever sat in it. I now expect to see the peers begin to alter Money Bills, and then to originate them. The Duke of York is expected to be gazetted to-night. The guns have fired, so I suppose the official news is come, but I have not yet heard it."

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1811, May 29. Lower Brook Street.—"We have offered ourselves to Lady Grenville to be at Dropmore on Tuesday night, the 11th, and to stay till the Saturday morning, if it should not interfere with your other arrangements.

"I fear that there is a good deal of truth in the inclosed school-boy scrawl which you will have the goodness to destroy.

"I was told to-day by a person not likely to circulate a rash report, that the King's mind was more irritated yesterday than at any time in the course of his present illness, and that it had been necessary to put him into restraint. I saw to-day a private letter from the Post Office Agent at Lisbon. He writes : 'The French were certainly defeated, but they kept their ground, and may be able to make a further attack ; and it is to be feared that the allied army did not lose fewer

than 8,000 men. The loss of the Buffs is very heavy indeed; and a large advanced corps of the Spaniards was destroyed. The number of the allied army engaged was nearly 23,000.' I met one of the Ministers this morning. He said without any reserve: 'The accounts from Badajoz create extreme anxiety; Lord Wellington had hurried in person to take the command, and had sent reinforcements, but the distance from the Coa is about 150 miles.' He added: 'I have not yet seen the last night's account from Windsor, but I expect it to be bad, and am sorry that the Prince's fête is going forwards under such circumstances. The debate relative to the Duke of York will be unpleasant in many respects; but in point of argument those who bring it forward have not an inch of constitutional ground to stand upon.'

"After all, if a calamity should happen to either of our armies in Portugal, it would be fatal to both armies; but the Marquis Wellesley is not alarmed, for at the anniversary dinner yesterday, as I was informed by a person present, he made a long speech in which he assured the assembly that Mr. Pitt had early foreseen and foretold that Lord Wellington might be the military commander on whom the preservation of Europe would depend!!"

Private. LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, May 30. Lower Brook Street.—"I directed a few lines to you by yesterday's post to Bristol. I have since heard that the Queen's Council, after a long examination of the physicians, decided that his Majesty must be restrained for the present from communicating with his family, and that the Archbishop of York had the painful task of mentioning this to him. We shall of course be assured by the *Morning Post* that this 'change of plan' will have the best effects.

"Lord Grey desired me through Lady Auckland (whom he met last night at Lady Stafford's) to be at home to-day at one o'clock. He came accordingly. He gave me to understand that he had had, at Lady Stafford's, a very gracious conference on the part of the Prince, evidently implying an encouragement to a motion in both Houses for a re-examination of the physicians; and in other respects friendly. With respect to such a motion, I stated without reserve what I had already respectfully hinted to the Prince, that its expediency depends much on his Royal Highness avowing his approbation of it. In that case, if the bulletins should not mend (which is utterly improbable), it is probable that we should have accessions sufficient to carry a clear majority in the House of Lords, but much will depend on previous communications, though the whole might be done in the course of ten days; and though for obvious reasons it would still be better to wait a fortnight or three weeks. I incline to believe that you will

hear from Lord Grey, and therefore I mention the point, that you may turn it in your mind. He seemed to wish that I would write to you on the proposed discussion of the Duke of York's question. He lamented strongly to me that Lord Milton had brought it forward, and is extremely anxious that Mr. Charles Wynne and Lord Temple should not suffer themselves to be implicated in it. In truth I do not see any principle on which the question can be maintained, and there are glaring objections to the discussion if it can be avoided. The re-appointment may preclude good plans respecting the military power of the country, but it is better that it should take place now [now] than that [it] should have been proposed perhaps some months hence.

"I hope that you have seen the *Morning Post* account of the speeches at the great dinner. They excite much ridicule, and some offence; more especially that part of Perceval's speech which takes credit with the Prince for having resisted the measures of those who maintained his cause."

EARL GREY to THE SAME.

[1811, May-June.] Portman Square.—"It has been agreed to hold the meeting of the Governors of the Charter House to-morrow at the House of Lords at four o'clock, or rather in one of the rooms adjoining, for the purpose of enabling us to attend a previous sitting of the Committee of Privileges on the Berkeley peerage. I hope all the Governors will be apprized of this in the usual way, but I think you would do well to write to Lord Chatham to secure his attendance.

"The Prince supports Lord Leitrim, at least so Lord Charlemont informs me, and I think he has some chance of success. I have been desired to apply to you to use your influence with the following Irish peers:—Auckland, Henley, Nugent, Carysfort, Bulkeley, Clifden, and Lord Hawarden through the means of Crawford Bruce, who, it is said, can procure his vote. It seems almost unreasonable to ask them to go to Ireland, yet if it should be found that the election was brought so near as to be likely to be decided by their votes, I should think such a request might be justified."

EARL TEMPLE to THE SAME.

[1811, May-June. London.]—"Sheridan's baseness irritated me the more, as he had put himself forward under the express understanding that no allusion was to be made to any point which could occasion debate, and Ponsonby had particularly requested me, if I spoke, not to make any allusion to any part of the conduct of the Spaniards, or to the Spanish war. Ponsonby certainly acted honourably to us in demanding his audience, but he showed want of firmness and decision in not checking Sheridan at the time, which he

alone could have done. It is quite impossible to *dream* even of acting in concert again, until Sheridan is given to understand that he will be disavowed and answered upon any future occasion of the same nature, like any other *renegado*."

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, June 1. Lower Brook Street.—"The proposed fête is knocked down, and the last accounts from Windsor lead to an apprehension that it is not likely to get up again. In that presumption we have determined for the present not to change our plans ; and you will probably be able to ascertain towards the middle of next week whether it will be inconvenient to Lady Grenville and you to receive us on the 11th.

"We leave town for Eden Farm on the 5th.

"I understand that the last night's debate was dull ; but the division clearly shows that if the Catholics had not started their foolish doctrine respecting the *veto*, all their other claims might be carried.

"Several of our friends are expressing uneasiness to me on the subject of Lord Milton's motion, which is contrary to the wish of every individual connected with us. It is said that Mr. Horner and Mr. Charles Wynne think themselves bound to support it ; but the general distaste to the question is such that they will find themselves wretchedly supported.

"Accounts arrived this morning of Lord Melville's death. He died suddenly (in his bed) at Edinburgh.

"I was interrupted by a young officer (Captain Elliot), who received orders last night to set off immediately with several others and with some men for Portugal. He assures me that he has seen a letter from an officer of Engineers with Beresford, dated the 17th. The letter mentions an extraordinary loss of Engineer officers and men on the 15th before Badajoz ; and adds that the loss on the 16th had been 'beyond all example' and 'by no means decisive.'"

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1811, June 1. Cleveland Square.—"I write a line just as I am going to Wolmers for two or three days, in order that you may know the true state of things at Windsor. I had the best information that can be had upon the subject yesterday evening. The King is described to me as being precisely in the same state and degree of derangement that prevailed in the month of February ; the same topics on which his imagination then rested have recurred quite to the same extent ; and the decision of last Wednesday at a full attendance at Windsor was to direct immediate recurrence to the same medical control and to the same seclusion which took place in February. The riding had already been discontinued, not on account of swelling in the thighs, as was reported,

but because the King's conversation was not fit to be heard by the groom who leads his horse. The swelling of the legs has latterly increased; the medical men are not without anxiety on this symptom, but profess no great apprehension from it if it does not spread higher, which as yet has not happened. Under these circumstances, the Chancellor has advised the Prince to put off his *fête* from the 5th to the 12th, on which last day it is expected again to be put off *sine die*. This little device is adopted in order to lessen the alarm which the Ministers think would arise if it were immediately put off altogether. The violence of this relapse seems to leave little hope *even to Willis*. You will, of course, not mention any of these facts that can be traced.

"No accounts from Beresford. I have myself more fear than hope from that quarter, as I cannot but think that Massena's detached force will have joined Soult before Lord Wellington's troops will have joined Beresford; and I have some reason to think that the Ministers are under great apprehension on this subject.

"Lamb detached Ward and some of our friends from Ponsonby and Whitbread, which weakened the division on the question of privilege. Since Fox and Grey are gone, there is no man in the House who can give it the tone of dignity which is necessary to the assertion of its rights, and after the repeated degradations it has incurred, I begin to think it quite hopeless to look at it any more as I have been used to see it."

EARL TEMPLE to THE SAME.

1811, June 3. Grosvenor Street.—"I was in hopes to have seen you in town before Milton's question came on. I now, however, find from your servants that you are not expected this week. Under these circumstances, I am anxious to know what your feelings are upon the subject of the motion, and what your wishes are respecting the line I should take upon it. When the matter came originally under discussion, I took great pains to acquit the Duke of York of *corruption*, but to express also my conviction that, under all the circumstances of the case, he could not continue Commander-in-Chief. This opinion, so expressed, leaves me in the present instance a latitude of action. My wish and feeling would be to go straight forward, and vote for Milton's motion, as I always think in matters of this sort that the straightest road is the best. Such also is my father's opinion. At the same time, considering all that has passed since that vote was given, and feeling that discussions may perhaps arise in which you will be principally engaged, and in which the question of the Duke's appointment must form a most prominent feature, I cannot but anxiously wish that you should not find yourself put under difficulty by any vote which one so near you as I am may have given without consulting, and

which still will be considered as the manifestation of your opinions. Under these circumstances, I wish you to tell me what your feelings are. If I do not, in consequence of your wishes, vote with Milton, I *can* stay away. If you could answer this by return of post I wish you would, as it would give me time to acquaint my father with my determination."

EARL GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, June 4. Portman Square.—"I received your letter this morning, and think, under the circumstances which you state, that it certainly will be worth while to make another effort for the Charter House.

"I should have answered your former letter, had you not said you were going to Bristol, and had I not expected to see you in town the beginning of the week; Lord Essex having invited me to meet you at dinner on Wednesday. I had not, however, much to say, and wished only to express my general concurrence in your opinions respecting coalitions. But it seems to me a necessary preliminary to arrangements of this nature, that there should be a previous agreement or approximation to agreement between those who had differed on important points. It is the circumstance of that previous agreement having taken place, or the want of it, that makes coalitions honourable or otherwise; and in the latter case nothing can be so conducive to the views of the Court as that which increases the opinion of the want of integrity and consistency in all public men. Our differences with Perceval are at present fundamental and irreconcilable. If any evidence were wanted of this, the last debate on the Catholic question would have afforded it. An attempt even at negotiation could not, I think, under such circumstances, be creditable to either party, and it was with this feeling that I expressed myself as I did to Lord Moira, in the conversation which I detailed to you in my last.

"I saw Lord Hutchinson this morning, who told me that Lord Donoughmore was come to town, and that he certainly would bring on the Catholic question on Friday. I had declined the dinner before I received your letter.

"The news from Portugal I think very bad. I have little doubt the French will claim the victory, as, in addition to one piece of cannon and between 5 and 600 prisoners, they took from *us* the colours of two regiments. If to this is added what they probably took from the Spaniards, they will have some reason to boast; and though they retired, Gazan's letter convinces me that it was only to wait for the reinforcements which appear to be coming up.

"I saw Halford this morning, who assures me that the King's bodily health is not worse; on the contrary that his legs are rather less swelled. Of the mental disease, he gives a very unfavourable account, and this I am persuaded is

hopeless. I feel very desirous of raising some discussion on it in the House of Lords.

"I have much to say about Carlton House, and Milton's motion, but the hurry in which I have written this letter, and which will, I fear, have rendered it nearly illegible, obliges me to defer it."

LORD GRENVILLE to EARL TEMPLE.

1811, June 4. Dropmore.—"I need not waste words to tell you how I feel the kindness of your letter. The occasion is certainly one of much embarrassment, but the only wish I entertain upon it is that you should do in it what is honourable to yourself and satisfactory to your own feelings. These considerations I could never bear to think that you had sacrificed to any personal objects of mine, even if I had any in this instance, but I have none. I have no desire to resume a station in which every day convinces me more and more I could do no good; at least a very small part of the good that I ought to do, and could, under more favourable circumstances, have done. And were my ambition as much alive now as it was at the outset of my life, instead of being completely dead, I hope I should not even then have prevailed upon myself, much less have persuaded another so dear to me as you are, to compromise a public duty in order to court the favour of any Prince, or recommend myself to any party.

"You have before you, I trust, a long career of public life; my part in it is, I fervently hope, very near indeed to its close. What is most important to you is that you should stand well with yourself; next to that you have a public character to consult, and many very unjust prejudices to surmount. You have also to reconcile men by gentleness and moderation to the many advantages you have over them. These are the considerations by which I must always wish that your conduct should invariably be governed. Their particular application to this case I can only leave to yourself, because they themselves require that your determination on such an occasion should be yours, not mine. Whatever it may be, I shall never forget the affection which dictated your letter." *Copy.*

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, June 4. Cleveland Square.—"As soon as I had found your letter to-day upon my return to town, I took it and read the greatest part of it to the person who was most concerned in it. He concurs entirely in opinion with you, and had already written to Randolph to desire him to keep himself disengaged, so that there is no fear in that quarter, and I feel equally secure of Lord C[hatham] now that you have written to him, so that it appears as if the worst that can happen is at least an equality; unless indeed our friends should

plead distance as an excuse for not attending the second ballot, which I believe takes place before the Regent's authority can be interposed.

"There has been less violence at Windsor on Sunday and Monday, but everything is now entrusted to the sole direction of Willis, who introduces or refuses to introduce the other doctors, just as he thinks fit. Willis, when asked on Saturday what were his hopes of recovery, answered that if great improvement did not take place in a fortnight, he should have very little hope; but whether he will consider an abatement of violence as great improvement does not appear. Halford's answer to the same question was that he begged to take the ensuing fortnight, before he expressed a distinct opinion. I would not myself give a halfpenny for any of their opinions. The Carlton House *fête* gave the King much uneasiness; but in truth whatever touches him at all overturns him, and this state is in my mind more likely to continue at his age than to be removed.

"Ponsonby is just come to talk over his difficulties about Lord Milton's motion. I think he will not support it; if he does, he seems persuaded the Prince will regard it as absolute hostility to him."

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, June 5. Eden Farm.—"Opinions vary as to the probability of the *fête*. I sincerely hope for every reason, both public and private, that it may be further postponed, and *sine die*. But if it should take effect, the excursion to Dropmore to which we were so earnestly looking forward will at least be delayed. We shall know more about it on Saturday or Sunday.

"I saw Sir Walter Farquhar just before I left town. He thinks Lord Grosvenor's son still in great danger. It is the confluent small pox, and the vaccination had been performed some years ago by Jenner himself.

"We were shocked by the very sudden death of our old acquaintance, Countess de Bruhl, whom Lady Auckland had seen some hours before apparently in good health and spirits.

"Lady Sidmouth is alarmingly ill. It is an attack on the lungs and heart; and I have reason to believe that the medical people despair of her recovery.

"I learnt yesterday, through a channel to be relied upon, that the whole reinforcements sending to Portugal cannot be carried beyond 7,000 men, which will in no degree make good the very heavy and lamentable losses already sustained in this campaign. The whole allied force at present is little short of 100,000 men; but on the other hand it is known and admitted that Soult and Massena, including the Cadiz army and army of the centre, have at least that number; even in the supposition that they have not received any

reinforcements. On the whole the prospect is in my opinion neither cheerful nor promising."

EARL TEMPLE to THE SAME.

1811, June 7. London.—"I cannot express to you in adequate terms my gratitude for your affectionate letter. I can assure you that, if I studied it with care, it was not only on account of the excellent advice contained in it, but because of the affection which dictated it. You must, however, allow me to *scold* upon one part of it. How often have you lamented with me the desponding and gloomy tone which so often pervades my father's conversation; and how strongly have you urged the bad effects attending his indulging in it, and the necessity of turning his mind away from the dark picture which he is so fond of placing before it. Surely then, my dear uncle, you have no right yourself to fall into the same train of gloomy thought which you deprecate so much in others. I perfectly agree with you that the state of the country is such as very much to deprive you of the prospect of doing all the good you could have done in better times, and under happier auspices; but still you cannot but feel that the majority of the country looks up to you, and that at this moment you individually have not a rival or competitor within it. The circumstances of the times may be such as imperiously to call for all your energy and all your strength of mind to bear the country through the difficulties she may have to encounter. It is a bad preparation for such a struggle to despond before the time for exertion arrives, and consequently to paralyze those exertions when they become necessary, by trying to persuade yourself and others that they must be unavailing. It is only in difficulties such as ours that a great and honest mind like yours is best shown, and the value of it deepest felt. The flush of a victory and the dazzle of a glorious but a bloody campaign may for the moment delude the eyes of the people; but some time or another the moment for reflection must arrive; and though it may arrive full late for the country, the longer it is deferred the stronger will be the regret when it does arrive that your cool and abler advice had not before been taken. Although this may afford to you matter of sorrow that so much time has been lost, and so little comparatively remains for you to do, could you reconcile it to your feelings of duty to your country or to yourself to decline doing that little, or to make that little still less by gloom and despondency? This is a very heavy and a very impertinent preachment upon my part; but, to say the truth, I have been taught it by you when our object was to divert my father's mind from the weight which has at times oppressed it; and you cannot wonder that I should, under similar circumstances, perhaps very flippantly, but urged certainly by a most affectionate motive, practice some of your lessons upon yourself.

“Upon the subject of your letter, you may easily conceive, I paused with much anxious doubt before I came to my final determination to absent myself from last night’s debate. In general, I detest staying away from a discussion of such importance, but I thought I saw in my absence the only solution of many embarrassments which surrounded me. I certainly did not mean by my vote two years ago, which acquitted the Duke of York of corruption, and found him guilty only of weakness, to sentence him to perpetual exclusion from public life. At the same time, I could not but feel his re-appointment unfortunate, and his being Commander-in-Chief at all under any circumstances most objectionable. Still I could not see the absolute necessity of my urging, in a manner most unavailing for all practical purposes now, objections to the measure which, at some future time, perhaps, might hamper you and myself, or make my motives for acquiescing in it then more than doubtful and suspicious. My father had also, I knew, formed very strong opinions upon the subject hostile to the Duke of York, and I did not like to take a step which I knew would be in direct variance with his feelings, without having an opportunity of previously discussing it with him. Under all these circumstances I came to my determination to stay away; and the result has so far gratified me that I see I should have been driven to divide, had I attended, almost exclusively with those with whom I have no wish to be seen acting in political union. It will give me the sincerest pleasure to hear that you approve of the line I took as, to say the truth, the measure of your approval is that by which I am most anxious to judge of my political conduct.”

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, June 8. Eden Farm.—“The Dropmore visit is in the old predicament so well described by the old bishop in Madame de Sévigné’s Letters: ‘*Cet enfant est diablement difficile à baptiser.*’ We now speculate on your receiving us upon Tuesday before 4 o’clock the 18th, till the Saturday morning, when we propose to proceed to Shottesbrook till the Monday, if the Vansittarts should not have gone before that time to the Militia Station. We shall by this arrangement lose the high tide of our strawberries and roses; but it will be some compensation to find it in greater exuberance and beauty at Dropmore.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1811, June 8. Cleveland Square.—“I am very much pressed by Lady Georgiana Buckley, who is an old acquaintance of mine, and an aunt of your ward, Lord Delawar, to solicit you for the admission of her youngest son on the foundation of the Charter House, a matter which she considers as a very

great object to her, and as a great favour to obtain from you. Her son is eleven years old, and as they are admitted from that age to fourteen, if in those three years you could name him, it would make her very happy, and I should be glad to contribute with you to do her that kindness. Pray let me know what hopes you can allow me to afford to her.

“Have you heard anything more of Lord Chatham? I hope that will not fail, and then we shall at least succeed for Lord Moira, if not for the Archbishop. My brother seems to have managed matters in respect to his members on the Duke of York’s question very clumsily. I was glad rather to confirm T[emple] in his inclination to stay away, which was, I think, his most judicious course; and he as well as I thought we had succeeded in showing G[eorge, Lord Nugent] how little he had to do with the end of a question which he had not seen or known in its beginning, but we failed, and he voted in the minority. In the meantime Lord B[uckingham] wrote to Sir George Nugent so pressing a request *not* to vote for the Duke of York, that Sir George, who had promised Calvert and Brownrigge for him, was obliged to excuse himself to them for staying away by pleading Lord Buckingham’s interdiction. Of course this reached the Duke of York, who has spoken of it with high displeasure, so that he has incurred all that belongs to declared hostility to the Duke, without any credit for it from the public and people. Lambe and Barham and some others made a most pitiful figure with their paltry puling penitences, which were very unmanly and contemptible. Ponsonby and Whitbread both spoke well, though on different sides; and Manners Sutton gains ground and reputation in the House.

“I have had no Windsor information since I wrote to you; great pains have been taken to confirm the belief of the *fête* for the 12th; and Halford quotes the King as having said *three days ago* that the Prince was right in putting it off on the 5th, but that *now there was no pretence for its being put off*. Last night the report was that it would be put off till the 19th, and I still believe my original information on this head will be found true.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1811, June 9. Cleveland Square.]—“I had the best information which can be had late last night from Windsor. The bulletin for to-day will be ‘His Majesty has appeared a little better this week than he has the last.’ In truth he is in a composed tranquil state, and will probably remain so till some trial is had; but the physicians can form no opinion whether there is any *real change* for the better. The Queen has been extremely anxious that the *fête* should be given up, but it is asserted that the Chancellor told the Regent that this would create too unfavourable an impression of the King’s

situation, and that, in consequence of *this opinion so given*, the *fête* would take place. My correspondent adds that he much doubts whether such an opinion has been given.

"I hear from other quarters that Sheridan has laboured strongly to prevent it, but in vain; and that the Lady of Manchester Square is in truth the real promoter of it, being anxious to be displayed thus publicly in an ostentatious state of vanity and influence.

"Lord Buckingham is not come, though his summons was sent by the post of Thursday; I begin to be afraid that his objections and reluctance to appear may lead him too much to overlook the necessity of prompt obedience to such a summons.

"I send this at the time that I have stated to Camelford House, and trust to them for forwarding it.

"When you are in town you had better agree to press the Archbishop of Canterbury for an early election at the Charter House to save the electors the necessity of coming up to town from a distance."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, June 11. Cleveland Square.—"I have just returned from Wimbledon and found your letter. *The Times* continue to reproach the Opposition with their conduct, and have showed a new spirit of hostility which I cannot account for; but, however unmerited is the abuse of the papers and the printshops, I think the only reasonable defence to make is to let it be known in conversation how distinctly you had yourself refused to hear of any such appointment in any new Government to which you might be called. A more enlarged circulation of this fact speaks with more authority than fifty newspapers to those who will hear truth and reason; and to the great majorities who will hear neither, it is useless to consider what can be said.

"I am told that the appointment of the Duke is certainly more popular than unpopular in the country, and so Althorp tells me he found in Northamptonshire. At the review yesterday the Prince was very much applauded, and the Duke a little; the Princes at their own desire came through Lord Spencer's park, and as Lord Spencer was obliged to wait for the Regent, it fell to *Althorp to conduct the Duke* through his father's park, which the Duke received very properly, and was uncommonly gracious to him for the ten minutes that they were together.

"General Grenville tells me from Windsor that the King was a little more composed, but that he is to be kept absolutely *secluded* in Willis's care, for the next *ten* days at least. Surely this will make another unavoidable postponement of the *fête*."

EARL GREY to THE SAME.

[1811, June. Portman Square.]—"Lord Moira, I know, has written to tell you that the Prince has put off all decision till to-morrow, but lest he should not have told you a proposal made by him to the Prince, I think it right to mention it. He has urged the Prince to appoint him and Wellesley immediately to two offices in the Government, in order to show that the present Administration is at an end, and that there may be an authority for the formation of a new one; these offices being understood to be held only for this purpose, and to be subject like any others to the disposition that may be made in a future arrangement. The Prince refused to appoint Wellesley, but offered to appoint Moira to be one of the Secretaries of State upon those terms, which Moira refused. I told him that it was not for me to advise him with respect to his conduct, but that nothing in the world could induce me to place myself in such a situation. Some more conversation passed, which I must reserve till we meet."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1811, June.] Portman Square.—"I think the Catholic question will certainly be put off till Tuesday, on account of the Berkeley Peerage, on which it is proposed to have long sittings both Friday and Saturday. I will write to you to-morrow when it is settled, which it cannot be before the post goes out to-night, as Lord Donoughmore is not in the House, and only send this that you may not set out from Dropmore on Friday before you get your letters."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1811, June.] Portman Square.—"If I had written to you on Saturday, I should have said that the Administration was actually broken up. My intelligence, on which I can rely, now is that they will go on till the period of the restrictions. But their dissolution, then, I believe to be as certain as any political event of that nature can previously be, in consequence of their own internal divisions, which have now arisen to a height that would appear to admit of no other result. If I am right, some proposal, if not from choice, must from necessity be made to us; and for this we should be preparing ourselves."

"Our first object ought in my opinion to be, and this I believe I stated in a letter from Howick, to take our ground on public measures; and before we proceed to talk at all about arrangements, to ask how far we can depend upon support in taking the measures which the public interest appears to us to require. Ireland, the bank, the war, and economical reforms, seem to me to form the great heads upon which we should ask for explanation; and may be brought

forward either all at once, or separately, beginning with that which would be most likely to tell with the public (I should say Ireland), as you may deem most expedient. As you are uninterrupted at Dropmore, perhaps you might find time to draw up the sketch of a paper upon this plan, to be delivered to the Prince, if a proposal should be made to us.

"I have found a good many of our friends objecting to any preamble to the motion on Ireland, and wishing to make it a simple motion for enquiry. Morpeth, in particular, declined moving it on this account; which he will do if his objection is removed. This seemed to me of so much importance that, without waiting for your answer, as the time pressed, I took it upon myself to say that the preamble, which caused his difficulty, should be omitted. It is indeed in itself a matter of very little consequence, as I am now certain that the matter, in whatever form it is made, will be opposed by the Ministers; and it seemed to me that to adhere to words which so little affected the substance of the thing, when Morpeth's consenting to move it depended on our leaving them out, would have been quite foolish. Several other of our friends also, as I have already stated, and particularly Holland, were in favour of a simple motion for enquiry. Under these circumstances, I hope you will not disapprove what I have done."

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, June 21. Eden Farm.—"I do not yet despair, though annoyed and discouraged by this conspiracy of the Regent's ball, a lame coach horse, the Windsor bulletins, and the Catholic question.

"If the ball should have a further postponement either to the 26th June, or to July, or (which I willingly think probable) *sine die*, we shall set off for Dropmore next Tuesday morning.

"Lady Auckland is gone to town to-day to change a coach horse, and to reclaim Mary, whom we had left in Hamilton Place. The Countess de Brühl was so good as to leave the latter some pearl and diamond ornaments; probably they are of no material value (we have not seen them); but at least they are marks of kindness.

"I am making a large haystack to-day, and we are all in the high tide of cherries and strawberries. I never saw so early or so fine a summer. The produce of the farm promises well, and that of my gardens, 'in all its branches,' is superabundant."

Private. THE SAME to THE SAME.

1811, [June 27]. Hamilton Place.—"This morning I sat an hour with Lord Grey, on a visit of leave for the summer. He goes the 10th, and I trust that you will somehow have a

meeting with him before he goes. It is very material with respect to various probable contingencies both at home and abroad. He appears to be unreservedly attached to you. He made a good report of the Prince, so far as any inference can be drawn from the language and assurances of this week. In the meantime the Prince's conduct towards the Ministers is such as induces some of them to say openly that the machine, already weak and shaken, cannot go forward. You will have seen the copy of the Prince's letter to the Archbishop of York on the Charterhouse business ; and certainly the line adopted may tend to establish the majority in the way that one would wish to establish it, but that is not very material. The conduct as to the contest between Lord Leitrim and Lord Gosford is an open war between the Prince and the Ministers, and his Royal Highness has authorized Lord Hutchinson to say that his support and wishes are given to Lord Leitrim.

"As to the formidable state of affairs in Spain and Portugal, there exists at this moment, even among the Ministers, an extreme anxiety. It is believed that when the last accounts came from Portugal it was known at Lisbon that an assault had been attempted against Badajoz, but that the breach had been found impracticable ; and there are letters from officers before Badajoz who write that if Soult should advance with the force supposed to be collected by him the siege must be raised. Lord Wellington had ordered two divisions from the northern army to move southwards, between the 1st and 3rd of this month.

"The opinions are unanimous 'that the Berkeley claimant has not made out his claim,' and nothing remains but the form, in addition to which it is said that there will be an Address to the Regent to call on the Law Officers of the Crown to report as to prosecutions for the conspiracy, and also how far Lady Berkeley, if admitted in the first instance to have acted under the influence of her husband, is liable for such acts connected with that conspiracy as have been done by her since his death.

"You will be sorry to hear that Sir John Anstruther died suddenly yesterday.

"I doubt whether the union of the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Chief Secretary is constitutional, but I am sure that it is foolish to hold out that those two offices may be so managed as to make it a fair inference that one of them is unnecessary.

"Sir John Sinclair's lucrative appointment may be a just homage to his abilities, but, in other respects, it will not strengthen Government.

"It is supposed that the Prince threw cold water on an intimation that arrangements might be made with the Sidmouths and others towards strengthening a Government, 'which he took as he found it.' "

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, June 27. Stowe.—“My mind was really so disturbed in London that I was glad to get away the first moment I could; and therefore missed seeing you, which I was sorry for, though I had nothing to say upon public matters that could be satisfactory, for I see little chance, in any event, that things can turn up in such a shape as to give you hopes of being able to serve the public usefully. All that has hitherto taken place appears to me very ill calculated to put either the new King, the people or the Ministers, in their proper relative situations; and I fear that it will take much time and trouble to put right what has now gone so very far, and so very wrong.

“I believe at this very moment his Royal Highness is on the worst possible footing with the Ministers; but though this may lead to a wish for getting rid of that which galls him for the moment, I have no idea that it will lead him to such measures as I feel are necessary for the public service. I find that the most professed courtiers now affect to give up all prospect of the King’s recovery; but I find that the common opinion does not look so immediately as *I do*, to the close of all this, which I think will probably not last two months.”

Private. LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1811, July 6. Eden Farm.—“You well know that I am warmly disposed to concur with the numerous and respectable body of our friends on every occasion that may mark attachment to the Prince, or tend to the close of an Administration which in every view of policy and of commerce has brought this great Empire to the verge of bankruptcy, and of every distress and danger that may ensue.

“It is therefore superfluous to assure you that in so small a matter as the election of Lord Leitrim you might freely pledge my vote, if I could give a vote. But you are aware that I am now only in a course of recovery from a complaint of an alarming kind, and that it would be evidently a departure from the line of truth, if I were to hold myself out as able to risk the fatigue of a journey to Ireland.

“If any Irish peer can be found who, knowing that truth, may nevertheless find it convenient or be induced to consider himself as pairing off with me, I shall be glad of it.

“I have written to Lord Henley, and have endeavoured to add any possible weight to the application which his friend, Lord Essex, will already have made to him.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1811, July 6. Eden Farm.—“I have abstained from registering my Irish Patent in the House of Lords, simply because such registry is of no possible effect or use, except

for the purpose of voting *in* Dublin. And certainly I never expected the inconceivable occurrence of a contested election between a Regent and his own Ministers. As to the rest, you will either suppress or shew my separate letter as you may think best. I am sure you will agree with me that it would not be fair and honorable to profess an intention to do what I cannot do.

“Mr. Vansittart, happening to be here this week, I have seen much of the details and embarrassments of the inconceivable Ministers aforesaid, respecting what is called Lord Stanhope’s Bill. That Bill has had the fate of Sir John Cutler’s stockings ; every atom of it has been changed. In its best concoction, it will be a wretched business.

“I begin to fear that the deceptions so long practiced in the military dispatches, newspapers, and Parliamentary speeches, and Votes of Thanks, and Tower Guns, will be lamentably exposed in the event ; and that our prophecies as to the result of the Portuguese and Spanish campaigns will be fully verified.”

WILLIAM PLAYFAIR TO THE SAME.

1811, July 10. 24, High Holborn.—“On reading the report of your speech on Monday, the 8th, in which your lordship is made to disclaim all knowledge on the part of his Majesty’s Ministers of *assignats* fabricated in England, and knowing at the same time your strict honour and veracity, I am induced to enclose a paper that will undeceive your lordship on that subject.

“It is to my efforts at the time (for the honour of the country and from friendship for Mr. Wyndham [Windham]) that the Administration of which your lordship formed a part owes its not being exposed in a Court of Justice as paying for the fabrication of those very *assignats*. I should suppose that it would be better in return, neither to own or disown the transaction, for there are people still living who can prove it ; and indeed if I did not know positively that though your lordship was not privy to the business, others of Administration were, after what your lordship said I could not believe that Government was concerned ; but knowing positively that it was so, I think it right to inform your lordship, as undoubtedly it would be very painful to have a formal assertion contradicted in an authentic way.”

Enc sure :

Statement relative to false *assignats* fabricated by French emigrants patronised by some of his Majesty’s Ministers and sent out to Quiberon.

“In 1794 and 95 a manufactory of *assignats* in imitation of those made in France was established at the back of Sloane Street, conducted by the Abbé de Calonne (brother to the

Minister), Mr. de Puisay and St. Morrice, the same persons who were sent to Quiberon when France was invaded, where they had a principal command and took with them the *assignats* so manufactured, in great quantities and at a vast expense.

“Independent of the open and expensive manner in which the manufactory was carried on by emigrants who had no money and who did not offer the *assignats* for sale as private persons did, the following fact puts the connection with Government beyond all doubt.

“When the expedition sailed to Quiberon, the manufactory ceased, and the managers all went off except Calonne. A large quantity of paper with the water-mark made on purpose was left on hand of a paper warehouseman in Upper Thames Street to the value of about 700*l*. This man brought an action against Calonne and retained Mr. Mackintosh (now Sir James) to plead his cause and prove that the credit was given on account of Government, and that Calonne was a principal agent.

“This came to my knowledge from the paper maker, who was determined to proceed. I was then in habits of seeing Mr. Wyndham [Windham], and informed him how Government was likely to be exposed. He made light of it at first, but when the time of trial approached, considering that the very man sent out to Quiberon with the *assignats* by Government would be proved to have fabricated them at an expense probably of 40,000*l*., he (Mr. Wyndham [Windham]) desired me to see if I could stop the business, asking what I thought would be fair. I said I thought the man ought to be contented with prime cost for the paper and allow a fair value for it to manufacture over again. Mr. Windham desired me to settle it so, if I could. I did settle it so; the maker, John Lightly (Hill Livery), agreed to deduct twenty-five per cent. from the selling price and to allow 30*l*. for the material left. The amount then remaining was about 490*l*., which Mr. Wyndham promised should be paid next day at 2 o'clock.

“At 2 o'clock on that next day two Frenchmen called on Lightly, paid him the money and took a receipt in full.

“I never saw any of the Frenchmen, nor did I know Calonne or anyone concerned; but I know that Lightly had plenty of proof that Government paid, and this transaction, in which I was concerned as stated, is a proof of it.

“I should farther state that I advised Mr. Wyndham [Windham] if he would not pay, rather to vindicate than to deny the fabrication, for that the denial would only add to the disgrace, whereas it might be vindicated on this footing: that the original French *assignats* were themselves forged mortgages on the estates of emigrants issued by a Government of usurpers, and that the emigrants had at least as good a right to issue *assignats*, and certainly had a right completely to try to bring them to discredit. Mr. Wyndham smiled,

and said that was true, and might satisfy the mind of those concerned, but would not satisfy the public.

"I write this in consequence of Lord Grenville's speech in the House of Commons [Lords] on the 8th July, 1811, in order that his lordship may confine the disavowal to his own knowledge, but not extend it to the whole Administration. —London, 10th July, 1811."

Note by Lord Grenville.

1811, July 12.—"I have this day received the enclosed. It seems to prove (if the statement be correct) that Mr. Windham certainly had some knowledge *after the fact* of the transaction in question, and that he took measures to prevent its exposure by the payment of money.

"On the best recollection that I can give to it, I cannot call to mind any the smallest knowledge of this fact, and I feel persuaded that it was never communicated to me."

Private. LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, July 15. Eden Farm.—"The political gloom thickens. After all our boasting and prophecies, gazettes, speeches, Parliamentary thanks, Ministerial paragraphs, all propagating a foolish falsehood, that we had given a finishing stroke to the war in the Peninsula, we are now in rapid retreat from a superior force. We shall next be told that we are going to gain a complete victory in the Alantcio; and lastly, perhaps, that by an unexampled effort of generalship, we are in some strong position in the neighbourhood of Lisbon. The Duke of York said a few days ago to a friend of mine that since the 10th of May thirteen thousand men, including a large reinforcement of cavalry, have been embarked for the Peninsula. That number (supposing the statement to be fully accurate) would not make good the loss that we have already sustained in this campaign, but the popular delusions will still prevail.

"The Bill called Lord Stanhope's seems likely to be poorly battled; at least as to numbers. It is thought that it will certainly pass on Friday or Saturday; that the amendments may be discussed in the House of Lords on Monday, and that the prorogation may take place on Tuesday. The Speaker came to this place early yesterday and left us to-day. He is asked to meet the Prince Regent next Saturday at Mr. Perceval's. These dinners originated from the suggestion of his Royal Highness, and are considered as implying no great warmth of attachment to the great body of our friends.

"The Ministerialists now talk decidedly of the intention at the opening of the Session to make bank notes a legal tender, and say that, though it may not prevent the evil of two prices, it will at least save the Courts of Justice from the embarrassment of protecting debtors against the due course of the law!!!

“You probably know more than I can learn as to Windsor ; but the general supposition is that this last paroxysm is more violent than at any time in the eight months of the disorder.

“The *Chronique scandaleuse* reports, that the individuals alluded to in some recent printed paragraphs are Sir Francis Burdett, Lord and Lady Oxford, and Lord Oxford’s brother ; and that the sum secured by Bond was a compensation accepted for a discovery respecting the true father of the lady’s second child. All which may or may not be false. The wits, however, in speaking of the nursery, call it the Harleian Miscellany.”

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, July 23. Eden Farm.—“It now seems to be doubted whether the reported capture of Seville and of Soult’s *depôts* is anything better than one of those puffing lies, which the Government papers bring forth so frequently. If the report had been confirmed, I should have inferred that, though Soult might for the moment be mortified and annoyed, the result would have been most perilous to the Spanish army placed as it would have been between Soult and Victor.

“We shall know in time whether Sheridan’s sortie on Thursday last was made in *sober* reflection, as if originating from Carleton House. But Tierney’s attack was too accurate and detailed to have been quite extempore, and he seems to have expected such an opportunity. I have heard that the Prince talks of Lord Stanhope’s Bill (as it is miscalled) in terms of unqualified concurrence.

“I yesterday saw a person nearly connected with me, who was at Windsor Castle on Saturday evening, and who told me that during several days in the last week, Saturday included, the King’s mind was utterly disordered, and had lost all those vestiges of partial reasonings and recollections which had hitherto been preserved through the whole of the illness.

“We had an incessant and inexorable rain here during the two days and night of Saturday and Sunday, and the Family Convention at Wotton must have found itself as much shut up as Noah’s assemblage in the Ark. We had a mixed company here, and passed our time in the style of passengers in an India ship. A good deal of mischief was done in this neighbourhood, both to the hay and to the oats and wheat.

“I quite agree with you in respect to the stupor of our countrymen in their actual view of many essential interests. And such a state of the public mind amidst the prospects of the times is certainly most inauspicious. Still, however, under every discouragement, a self-sacrifice may be due from you not only for the sake of numerous friends who look up to you, but for the possibility and chance of your being able, by some great effort, to do great good.

“I had always supposed that a widow Duchess or Countess,

marrying a peer of inferior rank, maintained by law the rank derived from her first marriage. But I understand that previously to the Convention of 1761 the question arose in the case of the Duchess of Leeds, who had married the Earl of Portmore, and it was determined on precedents that she could walk only as Countess of Portmore. Lord Buckingham will know how far this anecdote is true."

Private. THE SAME to THE SAME.

1811, July 27. Eden Farm.—"Have the goodness to return my inclosure at any time.

"The paragraph which mentions the list of killed and wounded is quite shocking, because it comes from official channels and is probably below the truth. I am more than ever convinced that the final result of our continental crusades will have been an unavailing and irreparable waste of human life, and of public resources.

"The paragraph relative to the squabble between J—— and T—— shews, what we knew, that we have some friends who seldom exert their talents except to do mischief to the cause and interests which they profess, and perhaps wish to serve.

"The Regent's conduct is odd, but I cannot believe that he will do so unworthy an act as to choose a new Parliament under the auspices of a set of men who are notoriously ruining the country, and are hostile to all the leading individuals of the kingdom, who have such public and private claims to a very different treatment."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1811, July 31. Stowe.—"I enclose to you a letter which I have just received from the Bishop of St. Asaph, and which I have answered by telling him that I would forward it to you; at the same time I strongly recommended to him to urge forward as much as may be the disposition of the present Government to appoint the Bishop of Killala, an appointment which the Duke of Richmond is very likely to assist. Indeed Lord Buckingham tells me that the nomination of the Bishop of Kildare would be highly objectionable, as there are several questions of dispute between the Bishop of Kildare and the Bishop of Glendalough, that is the Archbishop of Dublin; and also some disputes with the Archbishop of Dublin relative to the Cathedral of Christ Church, of which the Bishop of Kildare is Dean. These two objections ought to put his nomination out of all question, but it is not clear that they would be considered in that light, and therefore I hope the Duke of Richmond will set the matter at rest by nominating Killala.

"We have no private accounts from London or from Windsor, but the language of the *Courier* and of all the Govern-

ment papers is so desponding that I conclude there is little expectation, and that the doubt rests only upon a little more or less prolongation of existence. My brother continues pretty well, and seems not indisposed to execute his project of the Isle of Wight next week, if no new obstacle arises. The death of the King or the hourly expectation of it, however, would probably be of too feverish an interest to allow him to move out of the circle of news, and I have written to Lord Spencer to know whether such an event would not perhaps carry him to the Northamptonshire politics of Althorp, so that I remain subject to this double uncertainty. My brother is in some doubt as to his going to town, in the case of the King's death, to do his proclaiming duties as High Steward of Westminster, as the Duke of Newcastle did on the death of George the Second ; he seems afraid of his journey to town being misrepresented, and so it will ; but my advice to him is, in that case, to go up to town and proclaim, and instantly return to Stowe or Dropmore without seeing or being seen at Carleton House. I think this the best, because if he does not go up as his predecessor in office did, it will look like intentional neglect. I hope, therefore, he will go straight from his trumpets to your beds at Dropmore. There seems to continue to be a probability of contest for the county, but all looks well for Temple."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, August 4. Stowe.—“ Lord Buckingham and I agreed in considering the Bishop of St. Asaph's request as referring merely to the preference that he felt for having the Bishop of Killala rather than the Bishop of Kildare as trustee for the interests of the Archbishopric of Dublin, and we do not imagine that any such appointment now would give the person so appointed any claim to succeed to the archbishopric, in which succession I had rather see the Bishop of Norwich than any man ; but you will observe by Cleaver's letter that he thinks his brother better in health, and as I had already told him that I would forward his letter to you, though you could not at present do anything in it, I do not see that it is necessary to write anything farther to him. Of course Cleaver could never wish to interfere in any future nomination of his brother's successor, and all that he had in view was to have a proper person appointed to assist in administering the interests of the archbishopric till his brother may be well enough to resume them.

“ My letter from London agreed with yours in considering the King as in no immediate danger, but my brother has to-day received a letter from the *very best authority*, which you will easily guess, dated the 2nd, which expresses more doubt than has ever yet been had of the King's surviving for any time ; if he does, it seems to be in agitation to move

him to Kew. I see with great apprehension that things appear to be brought to a fearful issue in Ireland, for an Irish paper announces with great exultation that the Catholic Committee are pursuing the election of delegates in resistance to the proclamation. I certainly cannot wonder that if the Ministers resist the Catholic question, they should feel it necessary to prevent the assembly of an Irish Parliament of Catholic delegates; and when it is made illegal to elect delegates, or to hold a meeting of them, Councillor Scullie [Scully] cannot convince me that after passing that law, it is still legal to elect delegates and to hold a meeting of them. Government, therefore, seem to me to have the law with them on this subject; but, with the intemperate violence of the Irish Secretary, the incapacity of the Lord Lieutenant, and the Spanish fever that is drafting from Ireland all the regular army that made its defence, I do look at this part of the subject with the most serious apprehensions.

“Lord Spencer has had a bad fever, which delays his journey; she writes to-day that he is recovering and probably will go in a few days. I still think we shall follow, but certainly not for a week to come, and probably not for ten days. As soon as I know of the Spencers’ departure, or of ours, which depends on theirs, I will write you word.”

Postscript.—“Lord Killyn [Killeen] (Lord Fingal’s son) with a Catholic friend and tutor are arrived here. I don’t think many of us looked for their arrival, or particularly desired it.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1811, August 6. Stowe.—“I have just received a letter from Brighton, dated 4 August, of *very good authority*, which says that at that moment the Prince was flooring and wainscoting his riding-house to hold 600 to dinner on his birthday, if he should come down to keep it. The same letter tells me that the reports increase daily of Lord Wellesley’s favour, and of intrigues with him and Canning jointly. But my correspondent had just seen a letter from Canning, who protests that nothing had been said to him by anybody, a protestation on which my correspondent places no reliance.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1811, August 8. Stowe.—“I return you Lord Essex’s letter; the obscurity of the handwriting is singularly well adapted to the clear and distinct medical opinions which are described in it, and new as Monro is to the attendance at Windsor, I could have thought I had been reading a report of Halford’s when I find upon paper that ‘the King is not likely to die, *unless* it be from the wear and tear occasioned by the violence of his ravings.’ This salvo is a pretty judicious one, when

applied to the case of a man of 72, whose danger is now universally acknowledged to arise from 29 days of continued paroxysm, with no natural sleep, and very little food. The bulletin in the *Courier* of yesterday describes the King as worse, so that his danger is probably increased since the Sunday on which Monro pronounced his *dictum*. But, whether the King lives or dies, the Irish dilemma at Carlton House continues to be equally out of reach of any obvious solution. The *Courier* distinctly affirms the Prince's approbation of and concurrence in Poole's [Pole] letter, and the Duke of Richmond's proclamation ; it is not easy quite to believe this to the extent to which it is asserted ; it seems to me more probable that, though a formal consent may have been given, it has probably been given with reference to the present state of the Regency, and the supposed determination of giving, for the present, full scope to the King's Ministers to pursue without interruption their own system and measures. I cannot say that I speak of this course with praise or approbation, but I think there are those about the Prince who will think this manœuvre would enable the Prince to make the experiment in the name of the Ministers, and then to adopt it or disclaim it, as may appear ultimately best to suit the circumstances of the times. Of the folly of Ministers in bringing this question to so fearful an issue there cannot be two opinions in sense and reason ; the legal doubt which you seem to entertain must be resolved by a more exact reference to the words of the last Act than my memory will supply. As Catholic petitioners, they would clearly be entitled to name a certain number of persons to conduct their petition, but when the Legislature has made it illegal to elect delegates of the Catholic body, or to hold any meeting of men so elected, I cannot think that such election or meeting could be rendered legal by asserting that their object is to conduct a petition. What these Catholics want is to have a delegated meeting of Catholics who shall represent the whole body ; the law has said that no delegates shall be elected, and no meeting of them shall be held legal ; surely they cannot justify the breach of this law by saying that they become delegates for the legal object of conducting a petition. As petitioners they may conduct their petition, but as delegates the law has said they shall neither be elected nor meet, and therefore while that law continues, as delegates they are as much forbidden to conduct a petition as to do any other act which is specially interdicted by the words of the Act ; such at least is the notion that I have of the matter which, after all, must however be determined by the special words of the Act in question. You will before this have got my former letter, and you will have seen that Lord Buckingham pairs off with Lord Carysfort, and therefore does not think of qualifying in England or Ireland. He has not got the clause that you refer to, but he questions your position that no magistrate

can administer an oath out of the limits of his own jurisdiction, and quotes Lord Clare as having done so in very many instances (while he was Chancellor of Ireland) in England. But, be that as it may, this new measure of Ryder's announces a more active exertion in Ministers for the support of Lord Gosfort, and confirms so far what I had heard of the new tone of authority in which Perceval now speaks and acts. We have continued very *fishy*, and George tells me of a destined visit from hence to Hartwell on Tuesday next. My brother and I will certainly be with you on Monday for your 4 o'clock dinner."

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, August 10. Eden Farm.—"We are glad to learn (accidentally through Lady George Murray) that Lady Grenville and you are well in health, and well occupied in the completion of your new buildings. The weather is not favourable to that work; nor to the corn harvest, the general produce of which is become a subject of croaking among the farmers. I hope that it will be a false alarm; for the Ministers have contrived to leave us neither money for foreign purchases, nor means of access to foreign markets. If the expected change had taken place on the passing of the Regency Bill, the prospects of the country would now have been very different; and even at present if the change were made with a manly confidence, and with speedy energy, much might be done. Many who were sanguine for conquering the Continent of Europe by a British army of thirty thousand men opposed to French armies of three hundred thousand, are beginning to discover the unreasonableness of their expectation; and if, which is become not improbable, Cadiz should fall either by treachery, by lassitude, or by incapacity, a new army will be let loose upon us, and the expediency of Lord Wellington's recall will at last be understood. But all this availeth nothing if the Regent cannot make up his mind to a decisive line. I presume it is true that the placing of Lord Melville in the office of his late father was explicitly declared to be a mere temporary holding.

"Have the goodness to destroy or return the inclosed hasty scrawl, after bestowing a hasty perusal on it. I quite concur in the remark on the Batavia Excursion, and also in what is said respecting Mr. Polc's last proclamation. The other allusion to a Blenheim discussion relates merely to a letter which I had had occasion to write on the subject of George's several votes and line of conduct in the last session. The Duke, in the kindest manner, shewed my letter to Lord Francis, who came to this place (with Lady Francis) yesterday unexpectedly, and passed the day with us. All that matter (which may be more or less important) stands honourably and pleasantly."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, August 11. Stowe.—“Lord Buckingham and I shall be with you on Tuesday before your 4 o'clock dinner, and hope to stay with you the rest of the week. Lord Buckingham will go from Dropmore on Saturday morning to an Aylesbury canal meeting, and return at night; on Sunday we sleep at Winchester, and on Monday at Lord Spencer's. I hope this will suit you as well as us. Lady Buckingham and Mary go to-morrow to Hartwell. Temple writes in great spirits of his boy's rapid amendment at Dover.”

Confidential. LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1811, August 17. Eden Farm.—“This return of fine harvest weather places me and my pony up to the eyes in wheat, oats, barley, and clover.

“I wish, however, to mention to you that on Wednesday last George Eden received from Lord Lansdowne a very handsome and friendly proposal to represent Calne in the eventual call of a new Parliament. I inclose George's answer which I have just received, and the transaction is creditable to both, and therefore gratifying to me. Woodstock is inconvenient to me in point of expence; but economy, in a point of such importance, is a secondary object. It is also a seat which is within the probability of being lost to us from day to day. Still there are other feelings in respect to it which are both honourable, and of a natural sentiment, and George's letter well describes these.

“I have a letter from a half-friend of the present Government. He assures me with evident complacency that ‘the Irish transaction took place with the concurrence of the Regent, and consequently places him in a *contresens* to his old friends!’”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1811, August 21. Ryde.—“Everything concurs to confirm the intelligence which I had sent you, and it seems as manifest to me as it does to you, that it is quite beyond all human foresight to calculate upon what that course will be which is liable to change at every moment under the slightest possible impulse.

“All reports agree in the Wellesley arrangement being more than ever out of question. A letter has come to my brother to-day which informs him that, on the day after we left you, another Cabinet was held, in which Perceval most vehemently contended against the projected expense of Spanish levies, and that Wellesley found himself alone in his support of that measure; that in consequence of this change in the resolutions of Cabinet, Lord Wellesley had written a long, laboured memorial to the Prince, reminding him of his, the Prince's, approbation of that intended measure,

and of the concurrence of the Duke of York in it, and farther stating that this difference of opinion between Perceval and himself, would render it impossible for Lord Wellesley to act in concert with Perceval. Lord Wellesley is said to have seen Charles Ellis, and by him to have apprised Canning of this, after which immediately he took to the sulky expedition to Margate.

“My brother’s correspondent supposes therefore that this must end in a choice between Wellesley and Perceval. I suppose no such thing, but conclude that this will go on very well as it is, till the moment when the Prince shall, by the King’s death, or by the expiration of the limitations, be obliged to take a decisive measure. The conversation that you have had with the Duke of Norfolk makes it evident to me that the Prince has not taken any decisive determination, because, if he had, he would certainly not have failed to endeavour to secure the Duke of N[orfolk].

“Lord Spencer is getting strength every day ; my brother had only one day’s lassitude and lowness, but is now quite well, and I hope to persuade him to stay a week or ten days longer here before he returns to Stowe.

“Lady B[uckingham], with her daughter and son-in-law, are at Dover ; Temple is cruising with his boy, and all is going on well there. Lord and Lady Holland are at Trentham, having intended to go to Lord G. Leveson, whose house is not fit to receive them.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1811, August 25. Ryde, Isle of Wight.—“I wrote to my correspondent, who had seen Canning’s letter to Huskisson, to know whether anything farther had been heard, and I select some parts of the answer which I have just received, because I know that I am sending you good intelligence. ‘The idea of the Wellesleys and Cannings seems to have blown over in the last fortnight, and nothing is now talked of but Perceval’s remaining in his present situation ; and, if it be true that the Prince intends to give up the Irish, on all other subjects they seem to agree perfectly. I cannot yet quite bring myself to believe that the Prince will break all the engagements he has contracted with the Catholics, but I must confess appearances are very suspicious ; and everything at present seems as if it must turn upon that one question, for upon every other Perceval will give way. It is reported that Perceval has very much exaggerated to the Prince the violence of the Catholics, and that the Prince is displeased at their not remaining quiet, and *trusting entirely to him*. He certainly sent for Lord Moira, who was in the country, and after a long conversation had passed, he saw him no more, though Lord Moira called several times. It was reported that the Prince said that Perceval had assured him it was

necessary the *law should take its course*, and to this he had consented, but had never understood that any such proclamation was to be issued; and that he endeavoured to persuade Lord Moira to go to Ireland to adjust differences, but that Lord Moira positively refused to go under Perceval. The Prince has certainly an idea that his friends ought to come forward whenever he chooses to call upon them *without regard to who is his Minister*. This is a strange fancy, but still it exists, and *very strongly too*. I saw him 4 or 5 days ago very gracious and looking well, but he did not seem quiet or contented, and I am sure he is conscious that he is not acting right towards his friends. The only comfort I feel is that it is always quite doubtful how he may act a week hence, so many are the changes which happen in his mind; and it is worked upon by such mere trifles that there is no sufficient ground for guessing what he will do in the present moment. I am afraid the Chancellor has great power, and he employs the Duke of Cumberland, who acts entirely under his directions. I also hear that the Prince is even more violent than you suppose in favour of the war. In short, we seem to be in a very miserable way.' You know this is for your *private* ear, and I have given you this at some length because I believe my correspondent is very well informed, and very much to be depended upon. I shall hear of Huskisson again by the same channel early in the next month. My brother has a letter to-day from the neighbourhood of Windsor, which quotes the Duke of Cambridge for saying that the King's malady appears to be tending towards a fatal termination, and blisters are now applied to his legs. The same letter describes the old *entours* of the Prince still to persist that the Prince will resort to his old friends; but the writer tells my brother he believes the Prince will continue to adopt Perceval's Irish creed far enough to hazard another rebellion.

"We have been very prosperous till yesterday, when my brother returned from going in the *Venerable* to Portsmouth, a good deal fatigued, which he chiefly attributes to his not having slept the two last nights, though in an excellent bed and quiet room at Lord Spencer's. He thinks himself better to-day, and will dine with us, so that I trust this is only one of those sudden attacks of lowness and lassitude to which he is occasionally subject. He has appeared amused and interested, and when he is well enough to go upon the sea it seems to do him all the good that I expected; and I hope he will not allow himself to be too soon discouraged, but will stay here to profit of the unbounded kindness of the Spencers. I hope the new wall is in a proper state of advance, and that the new forest is every day thickening itself to make a united mass of wood to the west of the *great lake*. The young Duke [of Devonshire] has given 2,000*l. per annum* to Clifford, and has added 2,000*l. per annum* to his mother-in-law's [step-mother's] jointure of 4,000*l. per annum*. Lord Spencer is getting health

and strength, and talks of staying here even in despite of the temptations of September."

EARL GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, September 1. Howick.—"I have put off answering your letter from day to day, I will not say on account of any interruption of business, but, which I believe is a more frequent cause of delays of this nature, because I have had nothing to do, and found an excuse for my idleness to-day in the certainty that I should have nothing to prevent my writing to-morrow.

"I had before heard of the report of a new Administration to be formed under Wellesley and Canning, but though this was sent to me as coming from a near connection of the former, I did not at the time believe it, nor does the apparently more authentic information which I have now received from you incline me to give it implicit credit.

"Everything we know of the Prince's character and conduct is against it. His indolence, his fear of a difficulty, and his desire, so strongly evinced, of postponing a decision which would put an end to his policy of managing the different parties in Parliament, for which, I know, he takes great credit to himself for extraordinary dexterity.

"But, though this would induce me generally to disbelieve his having entertained any direct project for an immediate change of Ministers, it by no means inclines me to doubt his having held a language to Wellesley which may have flattered him into a belief that the great object of his ambition was speedily to be accomplished; and that his (Wellesley's) vanity and indiscretion may have led him to encourage the same expectation in his friends.

"Beyond this I am strongly persuaded that nothing has taken place, not even a communication with Canning. Canning, at least, I know, has denied it; but there is also what you will perhaps consider as a stronger proof in the language of Canning's friends, which has been and is extremely hostile to the Prince. Sheridan, too, whom your information states as a party to this new arrangement, has very lately been expressing so much discontent at the Prince's conduct, as to talk of resigning his place and his seat in Parliament. Whatever probability you may think there is of his executing such a threat, it is certain he would not have uttered it, if he had seen any prospect of obtaining a seat in the Cabinet.

"I am afraid, therefore, you are a little too sanguine in your hope that we shall be relieved from all embarrassment as to the time and manner of declining to place ourselves in situations to which, I certainly agree with you in thinking, we cannot look with any reasonable expectation of being allowed to act usefully for the public. Whatever the present appearances may be, I think it hardly possible the Prince should take the step either of confirming the present men as

Ministers, or of appointing new ones without, at least, some communication with us. You cannot wish more anxiously than I do that this may consist merely in assigning his reasons for having altered the intention which he voluntarily professed to us last spring. But I am more inclined to expect, in conformity to the conversation with Moira which I repeated to you before I left London, that we shall have a proposal for a strong and united Administration ; not so much from any real desire to effect that object, as from the hope of rendering us unpopular by a refusal. You know my mind was made up long ago upon this matter. The danger to which we should be exposed is, I think, considerably lessened by the events which have taken place since the close of the Session, and particularly by the proceedings of the Government in Ireland. These I think would justify a *non, sans phrase*. But if you still think more management would be required, they would at least authorise us in expressing generally a wish to concur in putting an end to party differences by fair and honourable accommodation, to desire previously to know how far this was rendered practicable by a concurrence of opinion as to the measures essential to the public safety, and particularly as to the conduct to be held towards the Catholics. In this way we should certainly break on a public principle, and avoid the unpopularity of appearing to be influenced either by party animosity, or by a desire to engross to ourselves all the power of the Government.

“ Of the Prince’s present dispositions, all I hear is as unpromising as possible ; but this impression is derived rather from the tone of those who may have opportunities of knowing, or from their entire silence, than from any positive information. Nor, though I have had one of his council here for the last three days, in the person of the great Michael Angelo [Taylor] himself, have I received any more direct light, however incredible this may appear, on whatever may appear dubious or uncertain.

“ Circumstances, however, may occur, and are by no means improbable in my opinion, which may compel the Prince to take more decisive measures than his inclination or his policy would otherwise lead him to. From the accounts last received it appears probable that the French are on the point of making a great effort against Portugal. The arrival of reinforcements on the northern frontier, and the position taken by Marmont on the Tagus, as a point of communication between that army and Soult, whose movement towards Murcia I strongly suspect to be a feint, seem to me to indicate an attack on three sides, which Lord Wellington, even with an army, which he now has of 50,000 effective *British* troops, will find himself unable to resist. But even if such an effort should not take place or should not succeed, I am convinced the period when we shall be obliged to give up the contest from an absolute inability to support the expense, is fast

approaching. I know that the greatest difficulty is found in procuring specie for the mere subsistence of the army ; and comparing the periods of pay of the British army with similar periods in this country, and both ought in due course to be exactly the same, a report has been made to the Treasury, that the subsistence of our troops in Portugal is now ten weeks in arrear. In short we must buy up money here at any rate and send it out ; and how long this may go on I leave you to calculate.

“ All this perhaps you already know, and the only inference I mean to draw from it is, that if not from choice, possibly from necessity, we may be called upon to undertake the government, and that you should be prepared for all the dangers and difficulties to which, by such a result, you would be exposed.

“ In this country we have nothing but distress and complaint ; rents falling in arrear ; the property-tax not paid ; and frequent seizures for the deficiency. By the way, the mode of collecting the property-tax on the farmer is so oppressive, and so completely unjust, that it must be altered. I presume it is not intended that anybody should pay for an income that he does not enjoy, and yet this, from the manner of estimating the farmer's profits, frequently happens.

“ I will now close this unmerciful letter, which looks as if I had resolved to make it long in proportion to the time I have suffered to elapse before I wrote it.”

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, September 9. Eden Farm.—“ We feel a due anxiety to know that Lady Grenville and you are well, but I have been some time silent, because I have felt no pleasure in turning my mind from my lawn and library to a contemplation of the prolonged councils which are rapidly destroying all the essential interests of the Empire, in America, in Ireland, and on the Continent of Europe. The mischief and danger of such a system are now so evident that it is painful to see the continued triumph of so much roguery, and the prevalence of so much folly. I am still willing to hope that the hour of better decision and of energy is approaching. A sense of personal and public interest, and of political consistency and personal honour must operate at last.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1811, September 23. Norton.—“ Lady Minto informs me from Lord Minto's last letters that ‘ He is quite confident of success in his Batavian enterprize. Our force consists of ten thousand men. Daendels on paper states his at twenty-five thousand, but he is quite without regular troops. He adds that he accompanies the expedition because he thinks it more material to direct the first political arrangements ;

that he should have been equally responsible if he had remained at Calcutta ; and that his going is not matter of taste but of duty. The *rendezvous* was to be on the 1st of May at Malacca, and we may expect accounts from Java in the end of October or beginning of November.' I am not sufficiently informed to have any opinion how far the object to be attained is such as to compensate for the probable waste of lives, but I have doubts whether a Chief Governor of India is warranted in going so far out of bounds, unless some special discretion (which may be the case) shall have been given to him from this country."

Private.—"I have a nephew in Ceylon who married Miss Rodney, and was promoted by General Maitland to the Collectorship of Jaffna. Lord Moira has been very kind in recommending him with earnestness to General Brownrigg, and this led to an interchange of letters in which Lord Moira has taken occasion to explain to me, in some detail, that he absents himself much from Carleton House, as it would be an unconstitutional situation if he thwarted the counsel of the Ministers by secret advice, and mischievous if, by being on the spot, he should be inferred by his silence to concur in what is going forwards. He then launches into the description of a supposed distaste given to the Prince by 'your immediate friends' in not maintaining our majority on *all* the proposed amendments to the Regency Bill in the House of Lords ; next by an unconciliatory tone used in some of the communications ; and afterwards by the hostile conduct of several individuals in the House of Commons on the re-appointment of the Duke of York. He adds : 'I trust that these impressions will be effaced ; but in the meantime if they have contributed to the continuance of the present Ministry, you should not fix upon the Prince an unqualified charge of inconsistency.'

"The due reply to all this was not difficult ; I gave it fairly but guardedly. The letter to me was *private*, and though some of its positions are ill-founded, I have not a doubt that the whole purport was most honourable, and with friendly and cordial respects towards you and Lord Grey.

"We have had a pleasant excursion, and we find in this place a large family assemblage. Grimsthorpe Castle in furniture, attendants, table, plate, porcelaine, lamps, is magnificent beyond what I have seen anywhere. The views from the place and the timber trees disappointed me."

Postscript. Private.—"I open my letter to inclose a copy of one which I have just received and which George Eden is confidentially transcribing for you. I am desirous that you should see it, because it may possibly throw some light on the actual predicament of the business in question.

"I cannot recollect any expression of mine that could have led to such an explanation ; but the explanation itself is friendly and candid, and inclines me to believe that the

correspondence has more meaning than I at first attributed to it."

Enclosure :

EARL OF MOIRA to LORD AUCKLAND.

1811, September 20. Donington.—"If I do not misconstrue your letter, it carries with it an implication as if I had some estrangement in regard to your friends. Be assured that nothing of the sort exists. No one has lamented more truly than I have done impressions which were never avowed to me, but which I detected in various circumstances. If the allusion be not to me, it only bears on others who have been in habit of confidential attachment to the Prince. I am convinced that you equally err in the supposition. The persons to whom I referred never have been devoted to the Prince, and only avail themselves of a temporary facility of intercourse to colour matters as may best suit their private views. My statement to you was not with the most distant wish of arraigning your friends. It was only to awaken your own sense of candour in judging the Prince so as that you might not impute to deliberate plan what really arises in great measure from feelings which he has not scrutinised."
Copy.

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, September 29. Llangedwin.—"I am at this moment in full enjoyment of all these beautiful hills in the finest autumnal sunshine which can be seen; I pass the next week at Wynnstay, and the following ten days at Trentham, after which Lord Buckingham has promised to meet me on *Monday, 21st of October, at Elton*; I am not quite without hopes that if the state of your building will allow it, you may be induced to sleep at Stowe or at Cuddesden, and join us at Elton. You have no longer any dog-days to shrink from, and you know how very valuable the sight of you at Elton would be both to the master and mistress of it; the consciousness of the delight they have in it would, to you as well as to me, amply supply the want of hill and dale.

"I have no news to send you, except to tell you that I saw at Vale Royal a letter from the Duke of Rutland which strongly described the dissension between Lord Wellesley and Perceval; and as their own friends talk so much of it, I conclude that it is no longer disguised or concealed. My brother's letter of to-day's post speaks of the same thing, and adds that Ministers are got more sanguine about the North of Europe, because the mutual engagements of Russia and Austria for March next have not been damped by our explicit declarations to both that we can give no monies, nor anything but co-operation on the Peninsula, and some supplies of *arms and clothing* which are *now* contracted for.

“When Bonaparte hears of these contracts, will he wait for the completion of them? Lord William Bentinck’s return from Sicily announces such a state of things there as leaves to Ministers no other option than that of joining the Sicilians against their own Government, or leaving the island to be delivered up to France by the intrigues of the Queen of Naples; for I suppose that to retain one or two strong positions on the island, even if practicable, will not be thought worth the hazard and expense, unless connected with the project of assisting the country to get rid of its weak and wicked mistress.

“Elliot writes to beg from me some information about the probable meeting of Parliament; as the Michaelmas quarter will probably decide this, you may have some guess. Pray tell me what I shall say to him. Your letter will find me at Wynnstay.”

JOHN JOSEPH DILLON to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, October 2. Glasgow.—“The letter which I had the honour of dispatching to your lordship this morning, dated in mistake the 5th, was similar to one I have written to Earl Grey as upon a matter common to both noblemen, and founded upon an impression that the same union of political sentiment, which has so long prevailed between them, still exists, and is not likely to be dissolved. It has been with me to make the offer contained in that letter; it will be with both your lordships to decline it, or to accept it, either individually and separately, or on behalf of your political friends.

“Should that offer be accepted, and I repair to Ireland, there are some points which regard your *lordship personally*; they appear to me so important, and time presses so *rapidly*, that I state them at once, previously to receiving an answer to my former letters.

“In my memoirs, and other publications, but more pointedly in the letters of Hibern Anglus, I have endeavoured strongly to support the respect which I consider due from the Irish Catholics towards your lordship, and I trust you will do me the honour to believe that my private exertions to that effect have been unremitting. Should I repair to Ireland I shall certainly endeavour to follow up what I have begun, and that I may be able to accomplish that object, is my motive in addressing to your lordship another and *separate* letter.

“The Catholics of Ireland (it would be false delicacy to dissemble the fact) have been offended, in *my* opinion *unjustly*, at the letter of your lordship to the Earl of Fingall. My *publications* have supported its *principle*, and *my representations to individuals* have been directed to remove prejudices against the *motives* from which it proceeded. I have argued in this manner.

“I have reproached the Catholics with an omission of *due and customary* respect in not communicating *instantly* their resolutions when they were passed. I have added that it was inconsistent with that dignity, which became a nobleman in your lordship’s situation, the leader of a party in the State, the *friend* and not the servant of the Catholics, to take notice of a resolution until properly and officially communicated; that even if the point of *etiquette* had been waved, there existed a motive for waiting until the last moment, in the hopes that the Catholics would have enabled your lordship to meet Parliament consistently with the representations made by you on their behalf, and under the *authority* of that false perfidious agent, Dr. Milner; that there existed reasonable grounds for such a natural expectation; that the communication was not made until the *last* moment, and only then upon the first regular communication. I have even hazarded a conjecture *arising out of some private information which I possess* that the determination of your lordship was under consideration *at a period anterior to the death of the Duke of Portland*; and even that it did not *originate solely* with yourself, if so *much*, as with others, although your lordship became necessarily the *organ* of that determination; and I have urged the unfairness of avenging personally upon an *individual* any displeasure which must attach to a whole party.

“Such has been the course of argument which I have adopted, and I do not think it will be condemned by your lordship. Such is the course which I shall pursue if I proceed to Ireland. It will in that case be with your lordship to favour me with any means by which the statement may be enforced.

“Upon the question of the *Veto itself* I shall feel more embarrassed than in vindicating the motives of your lordship. It will be my study to bring round the bishops; and the clergy of all persuasions and in all countries are the most *difficult* to manage. Drs. Troy and Moylan, I know well, and I am in the habits of the strictest political intimacy with a gentleman who will be an excellent mediator both with their lordships and the Republicans, a very able *decided* man, having the confidence of both, and with whom I have recently conferred in this country. He is as friendly as *myself* to the Veto, and I believe I have brought him round upon the point, which *personally* concerns your lordship.

“We have both thought of a *mezzo termino*, which I communicate without any opinion. I shall endeavour to avoid forming one until I shall have witnessed the state of the Catholic mind upon the *spot*.

“Let your lordship then suppose that I could accomplish the following arrangement, namely, a limitation of *actual relief* to the *opening* of Parliament, and an *adjournment* of other questions as they concern both the *Veto* and *ulterior concession*. Permit me, under the circumstances, to suggest this to your lordship’s most *serious consideration*. It would,

as it occurs to me, save the honour of your lordship and your friends, promote progress under any circumstances in both Houses, and facilitate a subsequent adoption of the *Veto* itself, which would be proposed with a greater prospect of *success*, and a favourable reception with the prejudices of the Irish Catholics when there shall be Catholic Members of Parliament. If this can be accomplished, I pledge my honour to your lordship that, if returned to Parliament, I will, whenever called upon, move myself the measure upon the outline of a Bill as sketched in my memoirs. I know those of great weight who would second such a motion. I think a similar pledge could be obtained from the Earl of Fingall (who, of course, will be made a British peer), and it would be supported by the body of the English Catholic peerage, and the Bill also could be referred to a *committee of Catholics* in both Houses. I have always been of opinion that the *first step* in the arrangement with the Catholics is the modification of the Parliamentary oaths, and that, *if the Veto be insisted upon*, I am sure it is necessary to the *success* of that proposal.

“The mission which I have proposed to undertake is certainly not of easy execution. It is truly arduous, and not that in which *many* would engage. I am ready, however, to try my hand, and if I should do no good, I think I can *avoid mischief*. I have but one request to make, which is, that those on whose behalf I may have the honour to act, whilst I shall happen to be employed, will abstain from any communications with *Mr. Charles Butler of Lincoln’s Inn* upon Catholic affairs, as they regard *Ireland*, which might induce credit to a representation that in what relates to that country he is honoured with their confidence. It is not without the most *founded* and *serious* cause of objection to that gentleman, in which I agree even with Dr. Milner, that I am under the *painful* necessity of making such a request.

“I have troubled your lordship with this letter, in order to convey in the fullest manner my ideas, and in case my services are requested (as in that event I ought to be almost at *this moment* in Ireland), I might receive at the same time with my commission some instructions upon the points explained in this letter.

“I shall hold myself in readiness to set off within two days, after receiving any instructions to that effect, in which case I should be obliged if a *viaticum* were lodged to my account at Messrs. Coutts.”

EARL TEMPLE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

[1811?], October 5.—“No bounds can be placed to the professed expectations of Ministers. Nothing short of the entire destruction of Massena’s army, or at least of its surrender, can now satisfy us.

“The King, too, is quite well, and his wish to come to the

Queen's house is mentioned as a strong proof of his sanity, and of his mind having reverted to its former habits. Now to me, who know how he always hated the Queen's house, and how difficult it always was to get him to town to do the routine business with his Ministers, his coming to town is only a proof of his mind remaining in a state of infirmity which leaves him no will of his own. Lady T[emple] comes up to-day, and I think we shall go to Avington in a day or two. To say the truth, I have no wish to return, and upon this subject I put myself into *your* hands. I positively will not come up merely because Tierney or Mr. Ponsonby wish to see the Opposition benches crowded, to cry 'hear, hear' to detestable speeches, and then to be sent back again with a further adjournment for my pains. If the day before the meeting I get a letter from you saying that you wish me to come up, either because you understand another adjournment will not be attempted and that the discussion will continue, or for any other reason, I will then come up, but on no other account. What with my regiment all the summer, and the King's illness, I have not had two days to myself.

"I am delighted to find you so much the better for your speechifying; yours is, I believe, the first case in which that medicine has been applied successfully."

LORD GRENVILLE to JOHN JOSEPH DILLON.

1811, October 6. Dropmore.—"I have this morning received your letter, and I am much obliged to you for the trouble which you are so good as to offer to undertake. My hearty good wishes will, now as ever, attend the application of the Roman Catholics of Ireland for the repeal of the remaining disqualifications which still attach upon them. This opinion I shall not fail to express when the occasion occurs again; but I have, as an individual far removed from any official concern in such matters, no pretence nor inducement to interfere in the previous steps which they may take in the prosecution of this object." *Copy.*

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, October 11. Trentham.—"I have this moment received your enclosure of Tucker's letter, which I will answer to-morrow; his lamentations appear to be perfectly just, but perfectly ineffectual. It seems a little unaccountable that this ruinous quality of Canada ship-timber should have burst forth at once with such an unexpected explosion; but nevertheless if it be true that all Canada timber is subject to sudden decay the ships which have employed it in their construction must be repaired, and other resources looked to as fast as possible. We possess a great many old English ships and French and Spanish prizes which it is the fashion to suffer

to decay in our ports, instead of breaking them up for our own service ; we have further, as I have always been taught to believe, inexhaustible resources of timber in the East Indies ; and, in spite of the authority of the late Lord Melville, I still believe that it would be wiser and cheaper for us to import our timber from India and build at home, than to make the dangerous and extravagant experiment of the building docks at Bombay, which we have finished, of Prince of Wales's Island, which we have abandoned, and of Trincomalee, which is the favourite project of this moment that Sir S. Hood is instructed to pursue, and to encourage as soon as he arrives in India. I do not, therefore, partake of the extremity of despondency which prevails in Tucker's letter ; and though I allow that I am disappointed in the result of the Canada experiment, I think it would have been quite unpardonable not to have tried it. I should even still be reluctant to abandon it altogether, more especially as I have always heard that the more southern timber in Canada is of a very superior and unobjectionable quality, and therefore it might be well worth while to be more nice in that selection before the resource of those forests should be entirely abandoned. There was a good deal of party spirit to overcome in the first question of supplying the difficulties of the Baltick trade, by the American experiment ; the sanguine temper of Tucker made him overlook all questions of risk, and his disappointment therefore is in proportion to the very eager hopes which he had conceived. I, too, am disappointed ; but though I am sorry to see our expectations of Canada timber more limited than I had hoped to find them, I am very far from feeling in that disappointment anything like the despondency which Tucker's letter expresses.

"I found the archbishop's report exactly such as you had represented it ; he left us to-day without having received any letter from the Chancellor ; and as he told me that the Chancellor had promised to write to him on Monday or Tuesday, *if the Parliament was to meet before Christmas*, but not otherwise, we consider the Chancellor's silence as a decisive evidence that the Ministers have prevailed upon the Prince to wait till February for the natural dissolution of the Regency restrictions.

"I conclude likewise from what the Archbishop told me, that, if the Prince could be prevailed upon to wait till February, there is no pecuniary pressure which would render a November meeting necessary. But I will not prolong this prosing letter, more especially as I see that you give me good hopes of meeting my brother and me at Elton on the 21st, where I shall be without fail, as I shall leave this place on the 19th or 20th."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

[1811,] October 13. [Pall Mall.]—"I have this moment seen the Duc d'Angoulesme, who left Lord Moira yesterday

and breakfasted with me. He tells me that Lord Moira is out of humour, declaring that he knows nothing of what is going on at Carleton House, and that he is not consulted. He *concludes* that Parliament is to meet before Christmas, but does not believe that the Regent will take his resolution till the year of the King's incapacity is expired, and '*therefore he does not mean to go to London till the 25th October.*' You will see that it would then be practicable to give 21 days' notice and to meet Parliament on the 14th November, which would close with the year the six weeks from the commencement of the session of the duration of the restrictions of the Regency Bill, and this agrees with what I have heard of the language of Mr. Sheridan, who is, I believe, the real adviser of his Royal Highness at this moment. Lowndes (Tax Office) told me at the quarter sessions that he was persuaded Parliament would meet in November from the state of the money, and if your *Fisher* is right in his statement to me of the actual defalcation in customs, excise and war taxes, I should think they cannot hold out to the end of January. I heard this morning from good authority that Ministers believe Bonaparte *is* returned to Paris, *not being sufficiently prepared*; but it is certain that he has put to the King of Prussia the question of ceding Colberg as a *sine quâ non*, and it is equally certain that he has not received a categorical answer, but that his demand will not be complied with."

Postscript.—"What is this story of great misfortune to the poor Carringtons? I have heard of *a dreadful calamity*, but I know not what it refers to, and I could not enquire from my informer."

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1811, October 16. Eden Farm.—"At last we are re-settled after a vagrancy of somewhat more than four weeks. We were well amused by the excursion; but, after all, 'home is home.' We were particularly pleased by our two days' visit to Elton Hall, in the road from Norton to Gogmagog. Lord and Lady Carysfort and your nieces left a strong impression on our minds that theirs is the best Inn on the great North Road."

"And so, the puffed and accredited reports of a great Portuguese prize have ended in a dead blank. I wait for the French account, which always throws light on our *Extra-Gazettes*, though it lies as abundantly as they do. At any rate it is evident that after receiving all our exhausting reinforcements, Lord Wellington avows himself inferior in strength, and is retreating accordingly. It is not improbable that the French armies will now push for the possession of the whole country south of the Tagus, in order to throw on us the support of the whole crowded population of Lisbon. But our stupid countrymen will be assured, and will pretend to believe, that Buonaparte is baffled, beaten, and distressed."

"The *Courier* and *Morning Post* 'have the heartfelt satisfaction to inform the Public that the surplus of the Consolidated Fund in the last quarter was 2,600,000*l.*' You have the Exchequer account, and will have seen that there was a falling off to the amount of 849,000*l.*; and in the preceding quarter there was a falling off, nearly 800,000*l.*; and there is every reason, in the entire stagnation of trade, to expect in the two remaining quarters a similar diminution."

Private.—"Perhaps you have heard that Mr. Perceval, after expressing much reluctance, has consented to the Prince's demand of 50,000*l.* from the droits of Admiralty. I have been told, but such intelligence is often erroneous, that the disposeable sum having been ascertained to be about 300,000*l.*, the Prince said that the pressure of his debts required the whole, but was contented for the present with 50,000*l.*; the pressure is certainly great.

"It is supposed that Lord Wellesley and Mr. Perceval have had a short warfare respecting the best mode of treating the King and Queen of Naples; and that Lord Wellesley was obliged in the result to give way. His proposition is said to have been that the King of Naples should be treated like the Nabob of Arcot.

"I do not know that [the] day for meeting in Parliament is yet settled. Some have thought that it would be best to meet six weeks before the day named in the act for the expiration of the restrictions, that they might expire *sub silentio*; but it is evident that little would be saved by this, as many points remain to be settled."

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, November 5. Eden Farm.—"George Eden made a favourable and satisfactory report of your apparent health. He divided the last week between this place and Bounds, and then went to Lincolns Inn for the Michaelmas Term. The Lansdowns are quitting Bounds entirely, and are to be here on Saturday and Sunday next in their way to Berkeley Square for the winter. I hear of several others who are already drawing towards the Metropolis.

"*Haud equidem invideo, miror magis.*

"The veracious *Courier* of last night intimates that Parliament is to meet on the 17th January.

"There seems to be a general ignorance, somewhat of the sullen kind, as to the probable decisions of Carleton House preparatory to the opening of the Session; and I have some reason to believe that the distrust of the 'Ins' is at least equal to the distrust of those who might have expected before this time some signals of consistency, energy, and honour. *Enfin nous verrons.*

"The Peninsula speculation begins to be lowered in the eyes and opinions even of those who have hitherto been

purblind and foolhardy in the system of Continental conquest. A General Officer, who corresponds officially with the army in Portugal, told me on Saturday last that we had lately had above 16,000 men in the hospitals, many of whom would die, and many more would be left unfit for service. By his account the number of sick is now diminishing. He spoke with anxiety as to a probable irruption into the Alantejo, and with asperity as to the absurdity of the late expedition conjointly with Ballasteros, to renew under increased disadvantages the attempt unsuccessfully made by General Graham.

"Your minute of the comparative revenue of the two last years is, I believe, quite accurate, and the least that can be said of it is, that it is uncomfortable. The difficulty in providing remittances for the Continental armies will soon be such as to bring forwards a Cabinet question of the necessity of withdrawing the armies. That difficulty is not yet acknowledged, however, for the officer above alluded to assured me that it is meant to keep a forcible possession of Sicily, and that horses, artillery, [and other requisites,] are now privately embarking for that destination.

"Lady Grenville and you are very good in tempting us to an excursion to Dropmore. We are well disposed to such an indulgence, and *if* we can accomplish it, we should arrange ourselves to leave this place about the 4th or 5th of December to pass two days at Dropmore, and then to go for two days to Shottesbrook, and to pick up Morton at Eton on the 10th, in our way homewards. Mary and Emily would ask Lady Grenville's permission to be of the party. Fanny is engaged to be with her sister at Shottesbrook, but possibly you have other engagements at the time.

"The situation of the Duchess of Marlborough is such as to leave no hope of recovery; but it seems likely to be prolonged, and there is reason to fear that it will become very painful. You will have heard that she saw Lord Blandford, and in terms of some kindness."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1811, November 12. Eden Farm.—"Mr. Horner and Mr. Abercrombie came with George for two days to this place to meet the Lansdownes. They were all pleasant on the various topics which occur in a voluminous library, but, apparently, as uninformed as I am respecting the true state and circumstances of the public world.

"The Sinking Fund is certainly an object of great hope and resource, and it sounds handsomely that 220 millions are paid off. Still it should not be kept out of sight that the whole actual amount of the debt is 840 millions, and that it is growing most rapidly at one end whilst it is curtailing slowly at the other."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, November 19. Althorp.—“I have just received a letter from Sir H. Englefield to desire my support in the election of a President of the Society of Antiquaries; he further entreats of me to solicit your good offices on this occasion, which, he observes, is one of the very few public objects left open to the ambition of a Catholic.

“I do not think that the Catholic question has anything to do with the Presidentship of the Antiquaries Society, nor do I think it judicious in Sir Harry to introduce that topic upon the present occasion. As far as I am, however, concerned, I think Sir Harry, having been an active vice-president for 23 years, has a good claim to the chair upon the present vacancy; moreover, my frequent intercourse with him had already more than once produced discussions on this subject, in which I had expressed my wishes for his success. Lord Spencer likewise intends to support him; but as I do not know your wishes and ideas on the subject, I write to him by this post to tell him that I will vote for him and that I have written to you in his favour, but cannot undertake to say what your engagements or intentions may be. I understand the opposition to be headed by Sir J. Banks, who is a very old and eager enemy of Sir Harry, but he does not tell me who is expected to be his antagonist. He says that he requests me to write to you, because he scarcely feels that his acquaintance with you is sufficient to authorise his troubling you with a personal application.

“Our letters from town say that the report of a sprained ankle is only to cover a very unpromising pair of swelled legs, and this report of the legs is from good authority. The antipathy to Yorke is said to be overcome by the influence of Perceval’s protection, and Lord Camden and Lord Westmorland are thought to be the probable vacancies that will arise in the second edition of Perceval’s works when revised and corrected; the same abuse of the leaders of Opposition is continued, but the balance is still kept in some degree by occasional expressions of vehement dislike of the present Ministers; I hear too that it is a favourite topic to descant upon the extraordinary political dexterity and sagacity which has supplied the means of steering so delicately between two contending parties as to *secure the goodwill of both* without the danger of any positive engagements with either. This is so amusing, and at the same time so characteristic, that I feel persuaded it must be true. I hear that the Scotch arrangements have produced much fever there, and have sent up H. Erskine for better explanations of what appears to him to be as little intelligible.”

Postscript.—“The Morpeths being gone to Tixall to Lord G. Leveson, the Cannings have set forth to meet them there.”

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1811, November 20. Kidbrook.—“We came to this place on Monday and go back to Eden Farm to-morrow till Tuesday se’nnight, when we hope to reach Dropmore. What is the dinner hour? Lodge us in whatever room is most convenient; we are such early risers that your workmen cannot disturb us.

“George Eden has offered to meet us at Shottesbrook on the 3rd or 4th in the supposition that we were to be there. If you permit me, I will put him into requisition for one or two of the evenings at Dropmore. He will like it much, and will be a good recruit both for whist and for chess. He informs me that ‘Sir Francis Burdett has stopped proceedings against Lady Oxford’s brother. She says that she has three consolations under all the censure of the world: the consciousness of her own virtue, Lord Archibald Hamilton, and Lord Folkestone.’

“The Speaker and I have just compleated the agreement for the removal of 17 more houses to extend the open area opposite to the Great Transept of the Abbey.”

Private.—“We are quite news-less here. The Speaker appears to believe that the Regent approaches the Session in dead silence towards all the Ministers, and every other description of persons. And indeed I am convinced that there does not yet exist any system, or consideration, of measures, for the Session, for the conduct of the war, for Ireland, America, the pressing want of money, the increasing dearness of provisions. The whole is left to the narcotic phrase of *Tout cela s’arrangera.*”

Private. THE SAME to THE SAME.

1811, November 22. Eden Farm.—“On returning yesterday evening to this place I found a letter on my table from Lord Howick. Its general purport is that he still continues to believe ‘what he wrote to you some time ago’; that the Prince still meditates a change and to bring in his old friends; but that the same causes which have so long delayed may ultimately prevent its execution altogether. He adds that a decision cannot possibly in the nature and pressure of the public interests be postponed beyond the opening of the Session. He expresses himself quite disheartened with the general prospect, but means to come to town for the opening of the Session. There is a postscript in the following words: ‘I have not heard anything of Lord Grenville for a long time; I hope he is quite well.’ It seems desirable that you should write to him without any reference to this communication from me.

“The archbishop had called here during my absence. I think it probable that he meant to recommend to me the proceedings which are going forward under his auspices in the support of ‘Bell *versus* Lancaster.’ I confess that I

dislike extremely the whole temper and turn of that proceeding, though the result may be good in drawing more regard to the education of the town, but that result is chiefly owing to the activity of Lancaster, whose quackeries have awakened the regular practitioners. Your academical eminence will, of course, I suppose, lead you into a support of the Lambeth advertisement, but surely in that advertisement there are many ill-conceived expressions and positions ; and the whole meeting, with the thanks to the archbishop for his conduct in the chair, is nearly a parody of the Dublin business now under prosecution."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, November 26. Althorp.—"I have said nothing to Sir Henry Englefield of your answer, but conclude that you wish to plead your not having frequented the antiquarians as a reason against your voting for the choice of their president. I should be sorry that any reference to me should tell with you in your general wishes on this matter. My vote is governed by more of society and intercourse with Sir Henry than you had had with him ; by some discussions on this very subject with him, which you have not had ; and by a stronger sense on my part of his fitness for it, as well as a stronger sense of the personal animosity of his old enemy Sir J. Banks than you are likely to have acquired. But whatever be the other qualifications of Sir Henry Englefield, he certainly has not shewn much judgment in falling into the trap which his antagonists have dug for him, and in countenancing their cry of 'No Popery' by unnecessarily adverting to that feverish controversy. I, too, am sorry to vote against Lord Aberdeen, but when a poor Papist has been drudging on as Vice-President for 25 years, I cannot assist the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Durham in burning the Papist to set up the Presbyterian. What times we live in ! The little county town of Northampton is as hot in the hostilities of Lancaster and Bell as if we were still in the days of Calvin and of Luther.

"I go from hence on Sunday or Monday to Cashiobury, and then on Wednesday to Dropmore ; that is to say if he will so have me, and if you will so have me. If he is out and you at home, I should then come on to you direct."

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1811, November 30. Eden Farm.—"I have lately seen several accounts from a person whose duty gives him access to the King. The health continues less unbroken than is generally supposed. The memory recurs occasionally in small matters, but the reasoning faculties are totally gone.

"The Prince's accident is likely to be followed by a lameness. The *tendon Achilles* is supposed to have suffered in a very uncommon degree.

“If it be true that the Duke of Clarence is offering himself first to Miss Long, and immediately afterwards to Miss Mercer, and is reviewing regiments, and visiting dockyards *ex proprio motu*, I should fear that there will be further calls for *Messieurs R. and J. Willis*.”

EARL GREY to THE SAME.

1811, December 2. Howick.—“I received your letter last night, and already had been asked by George Ponsonby the same question that he has put to you. My answer was that I thought it clearly necessary he should be in town before the meeting of Parliament, but that I did not see anything that required his being there long before; and that my own intention was not to stir from home till quite the end of this month, so as to be in London about the 3rd or 4th of the next. This arrangement I am glad to find is not inconsistent with your wishes, and, if you please, we will fix our meeting for the last of those days. I shall, however, be very willing to put it off a little later, having a great deal to do here, if you think our attendance on the first day of the Session can be dispensed with.

“Our information probably comes from very different quarters, and it is not perhaps very easy to estimate their comparative value. Relying upon mine, I should say that no plan was formed for an Administration under Wellesley to which either the Prince or Canning were parties. That he might have such a scheme in his own head, and that he might flatter himself with the concurrence of the others, is, I think, extremely probable.

“I do not pretend to any better intelligence with respect to the politics of Carlton House than you have; nor do I know that any is to be had on which much dependence can be placed. My opinion is that the Prince continues to meditate a change, but that he puts off any measure to effect it from the fear of the exertions it would require, and the difficulties he may encounter. These certainly will not lessen by the delay, and it is very possible that he may go on till he is left almost without a choice as to the continuance of the present Ministers in office. But still I think we certainly shall have a proposition to consider before we are many weeks older. If he has given the pledges you mention, the consideration will neither be long nor difficult; but as we know of pledges and opinions of a very opposite description, it remains to be seen to which set he will adhere.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1811, December 3. Althorp.—“I think Hill’s letter intelligently and modestly written. I am not sure that Lord Wellington speaks of the action with as high praise as I should have expected, and therefore I suppose there

is some truth in the reports of their not being very well together.

"I had insulted Lord Holland with asking his opinion how far this successful campaign of the English army had promoted the security of Spain, and what chance we had of continuing to find means for a prolonged contest of this description ; and his answer to my first question is that the *singular* character of the Spanish war seems to justify the expectation of success under circumstances which *reasonably* might lead to a contrary result ; and, secondly, he observes that he will undertake to prove that our Spanish campaign has been the cheapest possible employment of our army ; and that, though he wishes for peace, he thinks we ought to be ready to continue this course of war at all hazards for *two years to come*. If I should reply to his letter it would be to ask him what he proposes to do *at the end of two years*, if our previous expenses should have been such as to disable us from continuing the war, and if the state of Europe should offer no better security for peace than at the present moment."

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1811, December 4.] Eden Farm.—"It is somewhat hard to put the inclosed under your view, if it escaped your remark in reading the newspaper.

"It may well be designated by the word *flagornèrie*, which one of my dictionaries defines as *flattèrie, basse, plate, and fausse*. I should be sorry to think it possible that such a production could in any possible ease be manufactured and exhibited at Eton. *Cependant, c'est de l'étoffe dont on fait des Evêques*.

"Lady Clifden is at Blenheim for a week ; Lord and Lady Shaftesbury are to go next ; and then *Lord and Lady Blandford*.

"There is in yesterday's *Morning Post* a long and laboured large-letter paragraph, asserting that the whole merit of the conquests of Mauritius and Batavia belongs effectively and exclusively to the Marquis Wellesley, whose matchless abilities made it a matter of course for his successors to plan and accomplish whatever has since been done. This is so offensive that I really think we should insist on Parliamentary thanks (valueless as they may be) to Lord Minto, Abercrombie, Auchmuty, and the others.

"Might it not be possible to frame an amendment to the Address saying what may best be 'predicated' on all the great and prominent objects of consideration ; not in long terms, but in what the shops call 'concentrated spirit' ? "

Private. THE SAME to THE SAME.

1811, December 16. Eden Farm.—"The three very pleasant days passed at Dropmore were succeeded by visits to Shottesbrook and Richings, and we resettled here on Wednesday

last. I know nothing of what is going forward, and I suspect that there is nothing to be known except that the hour of decision is procrastinated. A wish is said to be entertained that Parliament should meet on the 7th merely to give operation and effect to the six weeks, and to adjourn for a fortnight. I do not know how they go forwards in respect to money.

"It is impossible not to smile at the gullibility of a very experienced lawyer. It will, however, be hard on Sir Thomas Plomer, if there should be many other creditors, as they are not of a description to feel any delicacy in taking their legal share of his 15,000*l.* There will probably be a commitment and trial for felony. The police justices shew no unwillingness to act, and Welsh has furnished strong evidence against himself, that he obtained the money *animo furandi*. That doctrine of constructive felony has lately been carried to a great length in the cases of Major Semple and others (reported in *Leach's Crown Cases*). Semple took a chaise at 5*s.* per day for a pretended journey to Scotland. He had not returned it at the end of twelve months. It was not proved that he had disposed of it; but it was determined that the question of original intention should be put to the decision of the jury, who found the defendant guilty, and he was transported for seven years.

"Lord Sligo has got into a very indiscrete scrape, which is likely to be tried at the Old Bailey. He had a yacht of his own property in the Mediterranean, and decoyed and concealed some sailors belonging to two of the King's frigates. The men were discovered in the vessel after his solemn declaration that they were not there."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1811, December 19. Eden Farm.—"I concur in the general feeling on the death of the excellent and amiable Bishop. I knew him just sufficiently to know that he deserved the very high opinion which you had of him.

"Mr. Hatsell has this moment left me just at the departure of the post. He has enabled me hastily to answer the question which you put to me. He came this morning from town, and said it was yesterday understood by a person who had seen Mr. Perceval that Parliament would decidedly proceed, as immediately as forms will allow, after the meeting, to the several questions of Supply, Civil List, King's Household, and the Distilleries.

"We had naturally been much interested in the Batavian news, having a brother and four nephews, Edens and Elliots, engaged in the enterprize. The Government papers are cold as icicles on the subject, because these successes at Mauritius and Java have been gained by an emanation from your Government. It is, however, felt that the plans were well conceived, and most ably executed. What we are to do with so deadly and pestilential a possession remains to be seen."

Private. LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1811, December 24. Eden Farm.—“I had occasion to write a few lines to Mr. Adam. In his answer he says, ‘various pressures on my private concerns and ultimately a heavy loss by the destruction of a most valuable fishery have determined me (notwithstanding the approach of old age) to return to the Bar. I have accordingly announced to my constituents that I shall vacate my seat early in the Session.’

“I am sincerely sorry for any personal considerations that affect his comfort; probably in this decision there is some mixture of well-founded resentment on the subject of the Scotch promotions.

“On the general state, he writes : ‘The times are tremendous. Whether the energies will be equal to them, or the determination such as to secure the greatest wisdom and capacity, I do not pretend to foretell. If it depended on my instrumentality, there can be little doubt how it would be used.’

“The horrors and unexampled atrocities which fill our newspapers have put an extinguisher on the good old phrase of a *Merry Christmas*.”

EARL GREY to THE SAME.

1811, December 27. Howick.—“I write a single line to say that I propose setting out on Sunday evening, and hope to arrive in London on Thursday next.

“All I hear of Carlton House is as bad as possible; yet I know from the best authority that the Prince states himself to have declared to Perceval that nothing is to be considered as settled with respect to the Administration till the expiration of the restrictions; and, which is more material, that though he allowed the Ministers to resist the Committee, that he still adheres to all his old opinions with regard to the Catholics. I hear also, from what ought to be good authority, that there are some symptoms attending him which create an apprehension of palsy; this will open a new scene with a vengeance. I have no appetite for any more Regency discussions, particularly such as an event of this nature would furnish.

“You will probably have heard the sort of establishment that is proposed both for the Regent and the King and Royal Family. This I foresee will be a subject of great difficulty both with our friends and with the public. But we shall so soon have an opportunity of talking it over, that I will not trouble you on the subject now.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1811, December 30. Cleveland Square.—“I return you the letter of your correspondent, which gives a good picture of the confidential intercourse between the Regent and his Ministers; and his acquiring the knowledge of this curious conversation by the channel which he points out is a curious

picture of the undisguised discord which prevails between the English Minister and the Irish candidate for priority. The moral of the tale is, however, frightful enough, for it is very evident that whoever is the Minister must expect *one* such conversation as is here described ; but I should not very much respect any man who should voluntarily expose himself to the chance of a *second* of a similar nature.

“ I find more people of my acquaintance than I had expected, but I do not hear any news and never saw the week preceding the session of Parliament with so little appearance of political and Parliamentary sensation. Lord Yarmouth is more in favour than ever, having personally attended the Regent during all his illness, and having himself insisted upon employing his own fingers in bandaging the leg of the Prince under the directions of Hume.

“ I am told his language is that the Prince is of no party, but will think for himself.”

EARL GREY to THE SAME.

[1811.] Portman Square.—“ I am not in general a friend to the prosecution of newspapers, but there is a paragraph to-day in the *Morning Herald*, which I really think requires some consideration. Pretending to account for your change of conduct since your letter to Lord Fingal, it states that since that period you have been converted to the Roman Catholic religion by the Marchioness of Buckingham, and that some months ago you abjured the Protestant Church before her confessor Mr. O'Connor in the Roman Catholic Chapel at Stowe. It adds that Lord Temple and Lord G. Grenville are supposed to have done the same ; and in confirmation of these facts cites the marriage of Lord Buckingham's daughter with the son of Lord Arundell. I saw the paper at Brookes's. At this moment when they are industriously and actively exciting the cry of ‘ No Popery ’ I am inclined to think that the prosecution of so mischievous and atrocious a libel as this becomes almost a duty.

“ I have a great inclination to move an amendment in the Mutiny Bill, to limit the power of Regimental Courts-martial to order more than 50 lashes ; stating my opinion at the same time to be strongly against this mode of punishment altogether. Do you see any objection to it ?

“ I wish you would send for the *Morning Herald* before you come to any decision about this libel, as I think the manner in which it is inserted makes it worse than I have described it.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1812, January 6. Althorp.—“ Dr. Charles Burney is here, and I learn from him that he attended in London at the meeting where Giffard's resolution was proposed. Giffard himself did not attend, upon an alleged illness. The first letter read

was one from the Archbishop of Canterbury suggesting some doubts upon the expediency of the society departing from the ordinary objects of its institution, and a little, but *very little*, discouraging the proposed measure. Then followed the Duke of Bedford's letter, which produced some effect, though one or two angry ones said it was the language of a threat; but then followed one from John, Bishop of London, telling them in the hardest words that he could find that they had no business with any such discussions, that whatever were their individual opinions upon the Catholic petitions, that society as a society had nothing to do with the Catholics; and that their duty as a society was confined to the cheap distribution of Bibles. Dr. Burney says that the letter was written in good, coarse, hard words, and produced great dismay among the resolutionists. Your letter was then read, and you will be gratified to hear that it met with great approbation and made very strong sensation. A friend of Giffard's then moved the previous question which, being carried without a division, put an end to the business. Perhaps you may have heard all this, but, as it was new to me, it may possibly be so to you. Bishop Law, St. David's, and Bristol took the lead in a very full meeting and were much astounded at the letter from John London.

"Dr. Burney expresses a most decided opinion against Giffard, or any such proceeding; but I was more surprised than satisfied to hear him say that he utterly disapproved of any such resolutions, 'though he thought the society did perfectly right in *circulating at cheap prices* the charges of Bishops of Lincoln and Bristol and others to their clergy against the Catholics.' I do not know the rules of the society, but if it is restricted (as I suppose it to be) to the circulation of cheap Bibles and Prayer-books, it is quite unjustifiable in my mind to employ any part of those funds and subscriptions to the circulation of all the feverish controversial effusions of Mansell and of Prettyman. If the society is at liberty to employ their funds in circulating any such trash, upon the supposed notion of these charges being friendly to the Established Church, then the Duke of Buckingham and you are annually paying for the circulation of libels against yourselves. Surely this is worth enquiry. G. Fortescue is a captain in the *Gazette*, which, I think, secures him against the arrival of Lord Moira, who will not reach Calcutta as soon as the *Gazette*. Did you ever read so ill-judged a letter as Lord Buckinghamshire's to the Directors? What will be the end of it?"

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, January 16. Stowe.—"I have delayed answering your letter for some days that I might be better able to speak positively on the subject of my attendance on Thursday next, in the House of Lords. My opinion goes eagerly and

anxiously with you on the necessity of endeavouring to put right (if possible) the incalculable mischief in Ireland arising from the delay of measures which ultimately will be forced on those who are most adverse to them, and from the wanton and flagitious outrage of the law, in the pursuit of an object that could only irritate and inflame. I am satisfied of the gross impolicy of calling on the Chief Justice to do the duty of a police magistrate, and upon full consideration of the words of the Convention Act, I am inclined to think that the Chief Justice, not being a Justice of the Peace under the *statute* for regulating that office, could not *as such* arrest or hold to bail any delinquent under that statute. The authority of a Chief Justice at *common law* to arrest is well ascertained, but these powers are in this case given by *statute* only to Justices of the Peace, Mayors and Sheriffs and Peace officers who by that designation are the *constables* and subordinate legal officers.

“You will observe, by the bye, that the Council proclamation recites ‘Bailiffs’ as legally authorised and directed to arrest, who are not named in the Act.

“With these objections to that measure, and to the mode of carrying it into effect, and to the delay of the repeal of all the Catholic restrictions, I should not pause upon obeying your summons if I thought that I could endure even the attendance such as you describe it; but in the first place speaking is out of the question for 20 good reasons, amongst which the first is that I can hardly speak in conversation to be understood. But besides this, I really feel so infirm, not having been out save in my carriage for three weeks, that I shall not easily be brought by any consideration to face London and the House of Lords. I must therefore entreat you to send me a blank proxy, which you will fill as you please.

“I say nothing to the collateral reasons for bringing this question forward at present, save that I enter entirely into them, and think them in every view and bearing quite decisive. The medical examinations state the improbability of the King’s recovery too strongly to justify Parliament in continuing the Regency restrictions; otherwise I should not have been surprised at seeing that game played, particularly as I have reason to think that the questions of the new establishments, though announced by Perceval, are not finally settled to the Prince’s satisfaction. So far as I can make it out, the Regent and the insane King will cost the public (exclusive of 100,000 for debts) about 130,000*l. per annum* more than the sane King and the Prince of Wales; part of this is kept out of sight by exempting the Prince from 12,500*l. per annum* of property tax.”

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1812, January 16. Eden Farm.—“I have reason to believe that the agreement provisionally making with the East India

directors for a new charter is to open the trade to Bombay, Madras and Bengal and to some of the royal possessions, but not to China.

"I find that Mr. Perceval took the sinking fund at five millions ; a surplus of a million at least for the current quarter is talked of at the Treasury ; and in that case the surplus of the four quarters would amount to somewhat more than four millions. A large importation of timber from the Baltic is one of the causes of an increase in the customs.

"The Prince suffers so much from what is called a nervous affection in his arms that he sometimes signs his name with great difficulty."

Confidential.—"I have reason to believe that Mr. Perceval, assuming that his administration is to be kept, has intimated a wish to have the accession of Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Bragge Bathurst. But that intimation did not include Lord Sidmouth and Lord Buckinghamshire and it is suspected that the former is objected to by Lord Wellesley in concurrence with Mr. Canning, 'who is not expected to attend the House on the Irish question.' Upon that question the Ministers say that it certainly is possible that the Prince may find himself embarrassed, but they think not essentially. I learn that a recent intimation has been given to the Princess that all idea of any public proceeding being instituted respecting her is laid aside.

"Much of this *comméragé* may be incorrect, but I give it as I receive it, and you have only to burn it.

"I have not any answer from Lord Gwydir ; he and his whole family are so connected with Mr. and Mrs. Pole that I think him not unlikely to avoid any voting. Yet he is in principle and practice so avowedly attached to your line, and to all your friends, that I greatly doubt whether you ought not to write to him."

Private. LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, January 12.—"The Governor-General of India and all belonging to him ought to feel gratefully sensible of your candour and kindness on Friday last. Surely Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Whitbread reduced themselves on that occasion to the level of General Tarleton's judgment and taste. The conquests of Mauritius and of Java required more foresight, energy and real courage than could have been expected of any individual, even in this age of enterprise. It was a fearful responsibility sanctioned by a full success.

"I have taken the enclosed minute from some loose notes ; the account for which you have moved will show how far they are accurate. Add the diminution in the produce of the war taxes, and the amount is tremendous.

"I presume you have accurate lists of our friends in the House of Lords ; if not, I can make out a tolerable list from my papers. I do not yet trace any symptoms of defection.

"I am told that the Ministers have agreed with the East India Company as to certain terms for the renewal of the exclusive charter, subject to the approbation of Parliament, and that some of the directors affect to say the conditions are onerous.

"Mr. Blackstone and I are privately promoting some relief for Lord Blandford; but his debts, we fear, are so very large that we shall have great difficulties.

"Sir John Stepney, who is dead, has left only 300*l.* a year to his brother and the same to his natural son (Colonel Williams) by Lady Almeric, and all the rest to poor Lord Cholmondley and poor Mr. Bennet.

"It may be doubted whether the Irish business will be moved to the best advantage before the expiration of the restriction, but on that point of doubt much may [be] said *pro* and *con*."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO THE SAME.

1812, January 18. Stowe.—"I write these lines to tell you that what I suspected yesterday is perfectly true, viz. that the *quantum* of the new establishments is afloat and that the allowance for Windsor is now found by conferences between Colonel Taylor and General Turner wholly inadequate. Much asperity from the Prince towards Perceval and much intrigue in consequence of it.

"But the most important matter of intrigue is that which respects the Catholic question, on which I think I can state to you *with certainty* that Lord Wellesley is urging the Prince to acquiesce in giving you your committee. Perceval is stout in his refusal, but much impression has been made on Lord Camden, Lord Mulgrave, Lord Westmorland and Lord Eldon, who are stated all to mean the ultimate refusal of any concession, but to lean to the committee. Lord Liverpool and Yorke are said to be stout in supporting Perceval, but the opinion of my informer is that the Prince is not indisposed to this 'expedient for gaining time'! Lord Eldon certainly despairs of maintaining his old 'No Popery' ground and Lord Wellesley would go the whole length of concession if he dared.

"I thought it essential that you should know *what is certain* in this intrigue, namely Lord Wellesley's view of the question and the disunion consequent to that view, and to his political objects with the Prince, both in this matter and in that of the establishments, on which he insisted upon entering his dissent in the minute of Council, and upon that dissent being submitted by Perceval to his Royal Highness, *which was done*."

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1812, January 23. Stowe.—"I have just received further details, which it is most essential that you should know, as *I am sure* that they may be relied on. A council was held

on Wednesday last on the Catholic question, where much uneasiness was felt at the ignorance of all respecting the extent of your motion. Perceval was very warm in the necessity of standing on the existing ground and staking the whole existence of the country on the resistance to Catholic claims. Lord Liverpool supported him, but with more moderation; Yorke and Ryder more warmly. Lord Wellesley stated that in Mr. Perceval's view of the question Catholic restrictions were a positive good and in his view they were the greatest of evils; their opinions, therefore, never could meet, but that it was with him a great question how those restrictions and the systems connected with them could be best removed. But that it was essential to the existence of the country and to the Prince Regent that the first act of his government should be the expression of his intention to '*ameliorate the situation of the Catholics.*' To these ideas Lords Camden, Westmorland, Melville and Mulgrave adhered, and Lord Eldon appeared more undecided than ever, declared his opinions unchanged, but did not support Mr. Perceval's declarations, and satisfied everyone that he would finally shrink from them. No minute was taken, except for further consideration of the matter. Lord Wellesley saw the Prince on Thursday for four hours and Mr. Perceval on Friday for an hour, in which he stated at length his view of the subject and the line which he had explained on the Wednesday in council. The Prince heard him civilly, but with great agitation, complaining heavily of the Catholics, but declaring his sentiments of the policy of '*ameliorating their situation*' and his kind disposition towards them unchanged, and this declaration was attended with some very intelligible observations on the personal advantage to himself of maintaining his consistency, and the whole ended by referring to the minutes of Cabinet, whenever the extent of the intended motions in Parliament should be known. Lord Wellesley had detailed his opinions at great length on Thursday; had urged the general policy of the entire removal of the restrictions, but had professed himself unprepared to propose any general arrangement on the subject of the national church or other dissenters, and the Prince hardly interrupted him in his statement of near an hour but to express his satisfaction in the warmest terms. The question was then considered by them, as with respect to the personal situation of his Royal Highness, and it was agreed by both that it would be necessary that his Royal Highness's disposition should be understood to extend '*to ameliorate the situation of the Catholics,*' but this appeared to them practicable only by '*gradual concession.*' I think, however, that it seems clear that on Thursday and Friday the Prince had made up his mind to pledge himself to the gradual relaxation of the whole string of restrictions; since those days Lord Wellesley has produced from his own pen, or from that of some other, the following questions which have been

shown and are (I believe) prepared as the ground-work of his building, namely, 'Will the Catholics take the emancipation piecemeal or will they accept it only *in toto* and entire?' 'If in the latter case, would they concede a negative in the making their bishops to the Crown?' 'Would they in the latter case renounce all idea of *meddling* with the office of Lord Chancellor or of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland?' 'Supposing the law, army, navy and revenue now opened to them, would they defer the provision for their clergy and their seats in Parliament to another (perhaps the next) session?'

"This silly paper I copy *verbatim* and send it to you as the best proof of the departure from the *No Popery* ground and of the utter want of any solid or real system, good or bad, that can replace that ground. The result, however, is, in the mind of my correspondent, the total separation of the Government and the consequent resignation or removal of Mr. Perceval, which he considers *certain*. In the course of the last ten days Lord Wellesley *certainly* entertained the idea of 'throwing himself on Lord Grenville and Lord Grey, if he could understand himself with them on the Spanish war,' and the Prince *certainly* discussed that coalition with him as late as Thursday, '*in case Mr. Perceval should resign immediately*'; but my correspondent thinks that it will end in the accession of *Canning* through Lord Wellesley and of *Castlereagh* through Lord Hertford, both of which noble lords are guarantees to these Irish secretaries and to the Prince that no future duel shall be to take place. But I am likewise told that Lord Wellesley says that such a Ministry would not last six weeks.

"Now the only sure result of all this sad trash is that Government is broken up in point of real union; that no real decision is taken by the Prince on the Catholic question; that his object is to gain time and to negotiate with the body of the Catholics for their claims and with individuals for his Ministry; that Lord Wellesley sees the house falling and is looking to every means to save his situation, and I would add that the *ratio suavioria* in the Prince's mind on this question is the fear of the Catholics, the fear of loss of popularity and the resentment against Perceval for his conduct on the establishment question, on which I could fill another letter. But you will observe from all this the necessity of shaping your resolution so as to meet all these *temporizing* projects, and above all you will see the absolute necessity of keeping secret the *words* of your motion to the very last moment in which you may be compelled by courtesy to show it to Lord Liverpool, and pray keep my name (for obvious reasons) out of every sight or guess on this subject."

Postscript.—"One question mooted was the purchase of Mr. Whitbread and of his *republican* friends, 'who have always expressed great regards to the Prince,' to a coalition with Lord

Wellesley by the Home Seals, and a peerage to Lady E. Whitbread ! What folly ! ”

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1812, January 24. Stowe.]—“ I return you your paper which I would earnestly recommend to you to withhold from Lord Liverpool as long as you can with propriety, for it is quite clear to me that they cannot accede to your resolution unless they make up their mind to abandon the whole of the *No Popery* ground. I learn this day that Government expects you to move for a committee, and that this wise device for gaining time was grounded on that expectation. Lord Wellesley now thinks himself sure of Lord Melville’s support to his view of the question, but I am satisfied that Perceval must ultimately decide the question *as he pleases* and his pleasure will be the reverse of Lord Wellesley’s and the Prince will find himself obliged to give way to Perceval. I do not understand Mr. Yorke’s resignation, for I should have imagined that Perceval would have influenced him to continue in office. As to the ultimate result of all this mischievous scene I have but one prayer and one wish for you, and that prayer and wish is fortified in my mind every hour.”

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1812, January 25.—“ I hold that a short movement from a town house to a country house is generally ‘ a bad thing,’ embarrassing to engagements both of business and society, productive of colds and calculated to renew unprofitably the painful feel of every immersion into the smoke and noise and follies of London life. I am nevertheless glad that Lady Grenville and you have a spell of fine weather for your purpose.

“ I have found the Liverpool petition and enclose it. Both the Liverpool and Staffordshire people evidently proceed on a tacit conviction that it would be hopeless to make any application to the Parliament which was profligate enough to support the Orders in Council under a full knowledge of all the folly and injustice and mischief of the measure, and which also voted an approbation of the Walcheren expedition. In the meantime, by the effect of those same Orders in Council, we have lost our commerce, we have thrown our manufacturers out of employ, we have irrecoverably lost a large proportion of the manufactures and we are now on the verge of actual war with the United States, with some risk of the loss of Canada and Nova Scotia and with a certainty of incurring a most inconvenient expense and diversion of force to provide for their security. The Chancellor in the one House and another lawyer in another House will assure the country with a smile of complacency that this is occasioned by their respectful adoption of the sound principles of our Order in Council of the 7th January.

“Is Lord Minto accurate, if it be true, as a printed proclamation states it, that he has taken possession of Java in the name of the East India Company?”

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to THE SAME.

1812, January 26. Stowe.—“The result of all this intrigue has been most curious; take it in these words:—

“January 24.—‘The question is decided, Perceval finds that he cannot keep his place, and his consistency, and *is a convert*. As yet we do not know the extent of his new line, but in every point of view, it is fatal to Lord Wellesley’s objects. *He* will be the scape-goat, and will have lost everything *SAVE HIS HONOUR*. The Catholics will now carry their points, which they will owe entirely to Lord Wellesley, but the Prince will take the credit of it.’

“Such is the wording of the information given to my informant, which I received this morning. *He* is satisfied of the truth of it; and I do not know how to doubt or how to believe it. Upon the whole of it, however, I doubt whether Perceval may not have been overstated in this matter, and whether all this *conversion* may not have been gathered out of his acquiescence in the Prince’s disposition for giving way to the committee rather than expressed as a recantation *in toto* of all his former course; I think you will agree with me in the probability of this *conversion* being only a feature in the new system of treachery and duplicity, substituted in the place of the open war and ‘*No Popery*.’

“The observation on Lord Wellesley’s *honour* I give in the words in which I read it, and is not the least curious part of this history. In consequence of this you will of course make assurance doubly sure in the text of your motion and in your exposition of it.

“Above all do not let my informant be even guessed at.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1812,] January 28.—“I cannot have been so inattentive an observer of all that has been passing in Parliament, and out of it, for the last five years, to be much surprised that the moment will come in which the virtue of all parties will combine to satisfy itself by throwing me overboard to lighten the ship. I say *me* because I am equally satisfied that no other holder of sinecure office will follow any example that I may give of *voluntary* contribution, and no other person will be compelled to the *involuntary* sacrifice of any part of such property. I could give you many reasons for this opinion, but I should only waste your time and my own most idly on such an employment of it. With these impressions, and with a full sense of my own weakness in yielding to Mr. Pitt’s wishes on this matter, when in the last war he induced me

to make the largest sacrifice of money ever made by a subject by threatening me with Lord Camden, whom he protected (though in the enjoyment of his Irish salary) against a similar sacrifice ; you will not wonder that I delay to offer myself a solitary victim as long as I can protect myself : but it is clear that the moment will arise when this will be forced upon me, and you seem to think with your correspondent, that this moment is arrived. Of that I cannot judge as well as you can ; but whatever may be the motives of the writer of the letter who advises this as a *purchase of popularity* (what an idiot !), I am sure you have no object but the discharge of an unpleasant duty ; and with this certainty, I am, as I ought, most ready to hear your receipt for saving me from being robbed, by a voluntary invitation to him who is stronger than me to take my property.

“It has always been stated that I receive *net* the whole of the *gross* sum stated in the returns. The deductions before any sum comes into my hands are :—

	£
Official payments to clerks and office ..	2,500
Land tax	500
Property tax, about	2,300
Other small outgoings	100
	<hr/>
	5,400
	<hr/>

“After which is another payment, which you are aware of, so that my income from it is between 16 and 17.

“My idea would be to offer (when I am obliged to do so) to give up one moiety during the war, to the Sinking Fund, in a book to be opened for voluntary contributions, by the Comm[issioners] for that trust. Let me know fairly what you think of this, but in strict confidence ; if more is required, I must break up my establishments, for my outgoings are heavier than perhaps you are aware of, and are not likely to diminish, but on the contrary to increase ; and though I should grieve to quit this place at 57 years of age, yet I must do it rather than to undergo all that *patriotism* would recommend in this matter as fit to be applied to me, for the sin of having taken and used that property which is as much mine as the *crown* is the King’s.

“As to your victory, I hold it (barring the triumph of the moment) to be waste paper as to any real change of system. Be assured that whenever the question of censure, of impeachment, or of address for removal comes on (supposing guilt to be manifest) the cry of ‘*No Popery and our good old King*’ will put you on your back, or will hang you if our *good old King* should so wish.

“With this conviction, I see no chance of the difficulty pressing upon you to which you advert ; much less need you fear any advice to you to lend your neck to that Janissary

bow-string, that has already twice throttled you. *Aut Cæsar aut nihil.*"

LORD GRENVILLE TO EARL GREY.

1812, January 28. Dropmore.—"Your letter has surprized me not a little. I received by the same post other information stating that Perceval had resolved to give way as to the Catholic question and Wellesley to go out.

"How far this giving way is to extend is not stated to me, but I suppose no further than to afford the Prince what he may consider as a sufficient salve for his own promises. I have little doubt that W[ellesley] considers himself as out. But, if Perceval stays in, we shall of course be saved the embarrassment of proposals to do what is nearly impossible.

"I do not believe we can carry the P[rince] with us in such a system of public measures decidedly announced and *resolutely persevered in*, as can alone save the country; and if he lets us for a time make the experiment I should expect to see a fresh change on the very first appearance of the innumerable difficulties and discontents which such measures must infallibly produce among friends as well as enemies.

"Nor do I believe that he will suffer us even to collect our friends together into one firm and well-united government and to place them, as they may justly expect, in situations where they can best assist us. Nor have I the smallest expectation individually of receiving from him in matter of patronage that support which is essential to the honour of the person who places himself in the invidious situation of discriminating between the claims of individuals.

"I have therefore so little taste for such an undertaking after 30 years of public life, and in the evening of our days, that I freely confess to you in confidence I do not believe it *can* be presented to me in a shape that will induce me to look at it. My only anxiety is in this difficult situation so to conduct myself as honourably to discharge what I owe to so many persons who have acted both honourably and kindly towards me.

"I certainly agree with you however that, in any view of the subject, the first answer which any man of honour must make to a proposal from the Prince to undertake his Administration must be by requiring to know on what principles it is to be carried on, and whether he has made up his own mind to abide by the advice which they must offer him on all the great questions which are now at issue. The three first of them you mention are undoubtedly the first in importance: Ireland, the Bank, and the War on the Continent. On those I have the happiness to think that between yourself and me there is not, I believe, the least shade of difference. If on any it is perhaps on the last, where I am not quite sure that even you are quite as strongly impressed as myself with the desperate and hopeless character of that project.

“ But even as to these three are we quite sure that all those who must be parties to such a paper as we speak of are agreed with us ? Tierney had hesitations and fears about resuming cash payments, for which the deeper I go into the subject I see less and less ground. He thought two years too short ; I think it much too long a term to fix for beginning that work. I should even be ready to compel the Bank at the end of six months to pay notes of a certain description in cash, and so on from six months to six months. Whether this should be by an ascending or a descending scale, beginning with their notes of highest or of lowest value, is, I think, a question open to much doubt.

“ But then this must be accompanied by a totally new system of finance, the basis of which must be the diminishing almost to nothing the advances of the Bank to Government, and consequently providing in this year not only for the loan of the year, but also for funding a great mass of floating debt.

“ To do this by new and productive taxes I believe to be impossible ; and if possible, not consistent with the internal peace of the country.

“ You must then have recourse to one out of these two sources, the war taxes or the sinking fund. In the plan of 1807 I had brought them both in aid by a system extremely complicated I readily admit, but I thought that complication a part of its merit, when the thing to be done was at once so necessary and so liable to public clamour.

“ That plan, five years of continued profusion have rendered quite impracticable. Whatever is to be done now must be rested on quite new foundation ; but I am not disposed, as far as I have yet considered the question, to believe that it is safe, though I think some others do, to go at once and avowedly to the sinking fund ; and having had so large a share, a larger than I believe anybody knows, in establishing it, I should naturally feel some reluctance to be myself the author of its direct and downright destruction, though I cannot disguise that public necessity does require some inroad to be made upon it. My rough idea would be to try to bring it back to its original principle of a limit of four millions ; not taking that precise sum for a limit now, but fixing such a limit as should bear the same proportion to present debt, as four millions did to the then debt.

“ But before I could go into the Treasury or into any other office of Government with any Chancellor of the Exchequer I must know that these general ideas accord with his.

“ The same thing we must say, yourself as well as I, with respect to the opinions of all our colleagues on the Spanish war. As to Ireland, I imagine we should all easily agree.

“ About economical reform, as it is called, I have much more difficulty, not as to the thing which I know to be one of those most necessary, but as to the meaning which is affixed to those words by some of our party and by the public.

“The true economical reform which we want is a reduction of wasteful expense, in the Army most of all, then in the Ordnance and lastly in the Navy. What the public mean is something about places and placemen, on which head they never will be satisfied as long as there are persons in place and persons out of place, and as to which it may be right to do something for the diminution of the influence not of the *Government*, which is already quite small enough, but of the *Court*, which is paramount in this country; but, in the way of economy, it is a public delusion to talk of it. Now, as I am not prepared to say what I could myself do on that head, and am totally ignorant what others would wish to do, I should feel much hesitation to commit myself in such a public paper to general words without more distinct explanation among us all of the means looked to for redeeming this pledge. You will not understand from this that I am an enemy to all measures of this description—far from it. I believe concession to public opinion even when it is mistaken to be in such cases a wise and just principle of government. But we should at least see where we are going before we pledge ourselves to enter on that course.

“You have drawn, as you see, a dissertation from me, to which I should, long as it is, have still much to add.

“First, as to the Orders in Council, which I conceive our course must be to repeal *instantly*, not as connected with the American negotiation, but on the ground of a deliberate conviction of their impolicy with a view to our own interests. The order issued under our government is *de facto* superseded by the annexation of Holland and other countries to France; and as to all other matters I am convinced our cause must be to revert at once to the old law of nations; to direct the Admiralty Court to regulate its judgments by that standard and to take our own stand towards America on that ground.

2d.—“As to the Duke of York’s situation, and the management of the army, delicate as the subject is, I do not see how we can consent that the new reign should, by our advice, be established on the same footing as the former, that of keeping the military administration distinct and independent of the civil government. It is a bad principle even under an absolute monarchy. It is totally incompatible with the principle of a limited Crown.

3d.—“As to household expenses, buildings, furniture, debts and favourites. Can we honestly leave all this immense field open to the course which things must take if not restrained by means quite different from those hitherto adopted?

4th.—“Parliamentary reform. How far would *we* go? How far would our friends? And is there any limit at which they will *beforehand* bind themselves to stop?

“Surely all these things will not to your mind carry the appearance of a desire merely to hunt for difficulties, but will occur to yourself as points absolutely necessary to be

understood not only between ourselves (which would be easy enough), but also with all those to whom we may look as essential to afford us [by] their co-operation even the faintest hopes of making face in the House of Commons against all that will be ranged in opposition to such a Government.

"These points are necessary to be at least talked over before one could frame the first outlines of such a paper as you speak of. Because no such paper could be drawn but under the strongest impressions of a necessity of very early appealing to it to justify either the immediate non-acceptance or the probable and speedy relinquishment of the proposals which this state of things does, I confess, seem to indicate as likely to be now made.

"I have tired myself, and certainly you much more; and the best wish I can form for your peace of mind as well as my own is that all I have written may be wholly useless."
Holograph copy.

CHARLES BUTLER to ———.

1812, January 29. Lincoln's Inn.—"I enclose an extract of a letter which was received yesterday by a gentleman here from his brother in Ireland. It appears to me to give a very fair view of the feelings of the Irish Roman Catholics on the *veto*. Every account which I receive from Ireland tallies with it. That the Irish prelates think that there is nothing substantially objectionable in the *veto* appears to be clear from their own offer of it in 1799, from Dr. Milner's offer of it in 1809, from the very terms in which they retracted it and from their Primate's letter. It would appear still more strong from the letters received from them by Sir John Hippisley. But the clamors raised against it by the lower class of the Irish clergy, fomented by some designing men, has been so great that they would lose all authority over their flock if they were now to accede to it. It is astonishing what a ferment is raised in the whole Catholic part of the Irish nation except the higher ranks of them. But in the actual turn which the Catholic business in Ireland has taken they can do little. All this clamour has been considerably promoted by the intemperance of Dr. Milner and he has made such a breach between the Irish and English Catholics and particularly between the prelates of the two kingdoms as it will take long to heal."

Extract.

"With respect to our emancipation I am fully of opinion that the *veto* will never be acquiesced in by the people of this country. I confess I see no reasonable objection to the measure, nor do I think that anyone could who would give the matter a serious thought, but a popular prejudice has been excited against it which no logic can conquer. If, however, the means were varied, the end sought by the *veto* might, I am

persuaded, be attained. You say in your letter of the 2nd of October that the laws we seek to have repealed are by many considered as the safeguards of the Protestant establishment, and therefore you think that in moving for a repeal of these laws our Parliamentary friends can only hope for success by proposing to substitute for them other provisions consistent, of course, with our religious opinions, but affording at the same time adequate security for our present civil and ecclesiastical establishment. Now let me assure you that your ideas entirely correspond with those entertained by four-fifths of the Catholic committee; but it were dangerous for them ever to come to any express declaration on the subject; if they did, their proceedings would certainly be misrepresented and that opposition which is now directed solely against the *veto* would then extend to any such arrangement as you point at. After all, we merely pray to be relieved from the disabilities we labour under on account of our religious opinions. We cannot presume to legislate; it remains with Parliament, and Parliament alone, to consider what new laws may be required for the security of the constitution in the event of a compliance with our petition; if such new enactments did not interfere with the doctrines of our Church no rational man could object to them; Parliament would have done their duty and the Catholic question be set at rest. Of this be assured, that if anything like a regular negotiation be opened between our friends in Parliament and the Catholic committee or any body of Catholics, it must end in irritation and disappointment. There would be too many discordant opinions to be reconciled and too much of a Jacobin spirit to contend against to render the completion of any satisfactory treaty probable or, I may say, possible. Any liberal plan which becomes the subject of discussion in this country, previously to its being entered into the Statute Book, will be sure, I fear, to be frustrated. A communication between a few of the leading Catholics of England and Ireland and our supporters in Parliament would afford the latter every information necessary for enabling them to carry their projects for our relief into effect. This is the only plan that can be adopted with a prospect of success. The recent proceedings of our Government have thrown the generality both of Catholics and Protestants into a violent state of inflammation. Should their joint petitions be now rejected by the Legislature the consequences may prove more serious than England is perhaps aware of.

“You may expect to hear more about the miserable conspiracy lately discovered here by the Catholics. Mr. Pole will make a great handle of it. It deserves, therefore, to be deeply considered whether he ought not to be anticipated on the part of the Catholics. The London prints might here be of use. The facts are that several persons of very low condition, heated and exasperated, did form an engagement

purporting to separate Ireland from England and to expel all persons connected with Government. Several hundreds had taken the engagement, being deluded by assurances that Lord Fingall and the Catholic committee sanctioned it. They were the more easily led into it because no oath was administered, and as they were not to infringe the statute, which renders oaths of political association capital, they were apt to believe that the 'engagement' was not punishable. Nobody of the rank of a gentleman, a farmer, or a decent tradesman, has been privy or concerned in it, as I hear, and it cannot have existed longer than since November. Their meetings were continually attended by spies and informers on the part of the Government, who have silently watched and nursed it and hoped to see it ripen for their own purposes at a more convenient period and under an aspect more alarming than it can now wear. They are disappointed in this hope by the premature development and by the eager communication instantly made of them by a few Catholics, such as Lord Fingall, Brien and others. You may see in the papers how chilling was the reception of it on the part of Pole, Saurin and their associates and how chagrined they must have been.

"Still it is awkward (though not unnatural) that such a business should have occurred at all. We must only make the best of it. Some of these unfortunate creatures may be hanged in order to bear out new prosecutions set forth with pompous speeches from the Crown lawyers—and these trials will be blended and perhaps confounded in the popular eye with those already pending against the Catholic delegates. Keegan and Adams are indifferent characters; the one a drunken writing-master, the other a broken shoemaker. Both are confined in Kilmainham gaol and no access permitted to any person. Attornies, friends, relations have applied, but in vain. They are men who can be bribed and would easily turn informers. Here opens a new scene of mischief and I think the people at the helm must be infatuated if they plunge thus deeply into persecution."

Private. EARL TEMPLE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

[1812, January. London.]—"At the Speaker's dinner to-day I had much conversation with Adam, which I think it material you should know the particulars of, at the same time that I dislike to call upon you to take up your time. The interview yesterday was very unsatisfactory to the parties, the King being deranged during its continuance. The report to the Prince from Baillie this morning was stated to me to be as follows: that yesterday the delusions recurred more frequently than usual; that this morning 'whilst the physicians were with him the *delusions* did not return, but that there was more *frivolity* in his Majesty's manner than they had before witnessed.' If the words were correctly quoted to me they are important, as the term *frivolity* as in

contradistinction to *delusions* certainly implies a state nearer bordering upon idiocy than, to say the truth, I believed existed. It is further stated to me that the present opinion of the physicians, and that which they are likely to give before the committee of Privy Council summoned by the Prince Regent, is that the existing symptoms tend towards recovery, but that the period cannot be fixed; and that whether the recovery takes place in a fortnight, three weeks, three months or six months, his state of mind is such as to make it, in their opinion, unsafe to intrude public business upon him. This opinion, if expressed as strongly as it is stated by me, and was reported to me, would necessarily most materially affect your ultimate decision. I had also much conversation with Adam and Tierney upon the subject of that decision. If in your walk to-morrow you can call here, you would insure to yourself not only a walk, but your not being interrupted. If, however, you prefer it, I will call upon you either in the course of the day or on Tuesday."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO THE SAME.

1812, February 2. Stowe.—"I have read with attention the whole of your debates and am much satisfied with it and with our numbers. I had received yesterday a letter that prepared me for the line taken by Government and for their final decision to resist the motion, which appears at length to have been acquiesced in by all parties at the recommendation of the Prince '*as the course that would be the least embarrassing to him in his future arrangements*' !!!

"Such is his infatuation! My further information is all of the same piece, a history of low and dirty intrigue, in which there is not in any of the contending parties the slightest grain of public principle or correct object. The dates, however, of some of the leading points are curious:—

January 20.—"A full Cabinet on the Catholic question, in which Lord Wellesley dissented.

January 22.—"Lord W[ellesley] saw the P[rince] and notified his dissent.

January 24.—"Lords Chancellor, Liverpool, Wellesley and Mr. Percival met at Carleton H[ouse] and argued the question before his Royal Highness, who approved the giving way to the question for a committee.

January 25.—"Mr. Percival saw the P[rince] and announced the intentions of his Royal Highness that the question should be resisted.

January 26.—"Lord Wellesley resigned; great cordiality from his Royal Highness and a request to continue to act till the restrictions ceased. Lord W[ellesley] notified this step by letter to Mr. P[erceval].

January 27.—"Mr. P[erceval] saw his Royal Highness, stated the necessity of an immediate successor and named Lord Castlereagh; the P[rince] did not object,

but asked whether Lord Castlereagh had been consulted. Mr. P[erceval] said he had not. That same evening he (Perceval) sent Mr. Peel to Lord Castlereagh; he answered that he would be no stop-gap; but that when the restrictions were removed and a proposition made to him by his Royal Highness it would be time enough to give an answer.

N.B.—“Lord Castlereagh had seen Lord Yarmouth so soon as Mr. P[erceval] had left Carlton House!

January 28.—“Mr. P[erceval] saw the P[rince] and proposed to him to take in Lord Sidmouth and his friends, to which the P[rince] replied in terms of great indignation, and Mr. P[erceval] withdrew the proposal, and since that day no further proposal has been made for the successors either to Lord Wellesley or to Mr. Yorke, which Mr. P[erceval] announced to his Royal Highness as to take place so soon as the restrictions ceased.

“During all these days the P[rince] has seen Lord Wellesley constantly and has pressed upon him the course he takes on the Catholic question and has expressed himself not only to Lord Wellesley but *to others, amongst whom is Lord Moira*, in terms of great contempt and indignation on the subject of Mr. Perceval's ‘*craft, impudence and folly*’ in his proceedings with respect to Lord Castlereagh and Lord Sidmouth.

“Such is the interior of this most disgusting scene, the particulars of which are, *I am sure*, correctly stated to me; but the sequel to it is the most important for you to meet as you ought, namely ‘you may depend upon the decision now taken by the P[rince] and which has been repeated to me from more than one quarter as a point in which I cannot be deceived. His Royal Highness will make to Lord G[renville] and Lord Grey a fair and honourable offer for Opposition to come into Government; but this proposition will come through the organ of Lord Wellesley and, if it is refused, the P[rince] conceives they will put themselves so much in the wrong that he will be enabled to throw himself on the country for support to a Government framed by himself, with Lord Wellesley at the head.’

“This is, I verily believe, his present intention; but it is subject of course to every variation that can arise out of the various passions that will come across his mind: and I should yet be inclined to wager my money that Perceval will continue his Minister with Lord Castlereagh, and that Mr. Yorke will remain.”

“*Nota Bene*.—From other *quite* authentic information I know these facts and dates to be all accurate.” *Added by Lord Grenville.*

Private. LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, February 6. Eden Farm.—“I understand that the House of Commons division has caused some dismay in

Downing Street and Whitehall. What impression it may have made on Carleton House I cannot guess. The abominable fermentation raised out of doors in 1807 will be again resorted to, but may with good management be borne down and prevented.

“The affair of Cuidad Rodrigo, in the opposite scale to Valentia and Blake’s army, bears at best the proportion of an ounce to a pound, and a few weeks will prove it too plainly. In the meantime those who wish to deceive themselves and others will be in a fool’s paradise.”

MEMORANDUM BY LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, February 6. [Camelford House.]—“This day Lord Grey came to me; he had before apprised me that he knew from Lord Lauderdale, to whom Mr. Adam had communicated it, that when the divisions between Lord Wellesley and Mr. Perceval appeared to render the dissolution of the present Administration inevitable, the Prince Regent resolved to commission the Duke of York to deliver a message to Lord Grey and myself inviting us to form an extended Government.

“He now told me from the same authority that the Regent had expressed his intention of now immediately resuming his plan. But that he had so far altered it that he now intended to join Lord Moira with the Duke of York in this commission. To which Adam objected that it might be proper that Lord Moira should rather be included in the persons sent to. But the Prince answered that this would never do, for in that case Moira would conceive the idea that he might be first Minister, which must at all events be prevented. Lord Grey added that the plan was to send to him first, *but with liberty to include me* if he refused to treat without me, ‘of which’ (Grey said) ‘of course there can be no doubt.’

“That the proposal was to be to form a strong Government to include all parties. That if Lord Grenville (the Prince said) insisted on including Lord Temple and others he would be very unreasonable. That if, on the other hand, Perceval refused to accept of any but the first situation which he now holds, that would be no less unreasonable in him, and he must then be left out.

“Grey added, in a note which I received from him after he left me, that the Prince said he must first communicate this resolution (before he executed it) to the Lord Chancellor and Mr. Perceval.

“I repeated to Grey what I have often told him, of my utter disinclination to such an undertaking—grounded on my total want of confidence in the Prince’s steadiness and good faith; that I had, besides, strong ground to believe that the Prince is personally indisposed towards me; and that I am fully persuaded that in the matter of patronage, so essential to the situation proposed to me, the Prince would be perpetually insisting on things inconsistent with such engagements as I

must in such case take ; and whenever I was obliged to decide between the claims of my friends would be stirring up one or other of them against me.

“ He admitted this and confirmed it by what he told me of the steps which the Prince is now taking in filling up all his household offices by private nomination, previous to his placing any person in a situation to recommend them to him.

“ We then spoke of the Catholic question, on which he said the Duke of York is extremely violent against the Catholics, and that the Prince has thought of a new pretence for evading it by alleging that, although he is himself persuaded of the justice of the claim, he is only administering the Government in the name of the King who, when capable of acting, thought himself restrained on this subject by his oath.

“ I remarked on the futility and dishonour of such an excuse and Grey fully agreed with me that neither he nor I can listen to any negotiation on the subject of taking office unless the fullest satisfaction be first given us on this point. We settled therefore that if this plan of the Prince’s be executed, we must, when we see the Duke of York, express to him in general terms our sense of the Prince’s gracious disposition towards us and our constant resolution that no personal feelings of our’s shall ever stand in the way of the formation of a strong Government capable of administering the public affairs to the best advantage, which can not otherwise be accomplished but by an union of sentiment on all the important questions of the day between all those whom his Royal Highness may be pleased to call to his service.

“ But that before any other discussion of measures, much more of men, can (*The remainder of this memorandum is missing.*)

EARL GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1812, February 10.] Portman Square.—“ Just before I saw Lauderdale, after he came from you, I had heard from Gordon that the communication was to be made on Thursday, according to the original plan, through the Duke of York. This information he had received as late as three o’clock to-day from MacMahon, and it affords a curious specimen of the different accounts which come of the same transaction from Carlton House.

“ Which of the editions will prove to be the correct one must now soon be known, but if a letter, upon the plan last communicated to Lauderdale, should come to us, my present feeling is to send a very short refusal to it, in which we should convey as decently as it can be done, our impression that such a proposal could not be made with any expectation or any intention of its being accepted. Something to this effect: that we had two years ago refused the proposed junction, not on account of personal objections, but from such wide differences on public grounds as could leave no hope of agree-

ment in carrying on the public service ; and this with the approbation of the Prince ; that now when all the differences which then existed had been increased our answer to the same proposal must be the same decided refusal.

“Having nothing more to say than this, I have not thought it necessary to trouble you further to-night, but I will, if you please, call and talk this matter over with you to-morrow.”

ARRANGEMENT OF THE MINISTERS FOR THE PRINCE REGENT'S CIVIL LIST.

1812, February.—

“60,000*l.* to be added to the civil list to answer the demands created by the King's illness.

“10,000*l.* to the Queen to answer the purposes of keeping her houses in repair and journies.

“The Prince to be relieved from property tax, which adds 12,000*l. per annum* to his present income.

“Carlton House to be relieved from taxes and rates which will save 4,000*l.* to the fund from which this expense was defrayed. *Query*, the civil list.

“100,000*l.* to be transferred from the civil list for the establishment of the King and Queen. If it is requisite to add anything to the 60,000*l. per annum*, that to be done by taking 10,000*l. per annum* from the Duchy of Lancaster ; the 60,000*l.* here alluded to is to defray the pensions charged by the King on the privy purse and the expense of physicians.

“The King's household is to consist of a groom of the stole, of a deputy who is to be the vice-chamberlain (these to be responsible officers and accountable to the Treasury), four lords of the bed-chamber, four grooms of the bed-chamber, all the equerries, pages and the rest, the whole household to be under the groom of

the stole; the groom of the stole and all officers whom the King appointed to be appointed by the Queen; and all such as were appointed by the master of the horse, the lord steward, or the lord chamberlain to be appointed by the groom of the stole; a secretary to the establishment, privy purse, master of the robes.

“The Queen and the Prince trustees for the King’s private property, with the power of appointing commissioners.

“The Prince to retain his exchequer income and that of the Duchy of Cornwall; to pay 50,000*l.* to the civil list.

“The whole of the civil list, after the deductions stated above, to be given to the Prince with a power of creating new officers for his own household in lieu of those retained for the King.

“100,000*l.* for outfit,
17,000*l.* to the Princess,
10,000*l.* her debts,
30,000*l.* the Prince’s debts,
10,000*l.* for the Landgrave.
15,000*l.* for the arrears of
E. debts.
1,000*l.* for management.”

Copy.

MEMORANDUM OF LORD GRENVILLE THEREON.

“The more I consider the proposed arrangement the more I think it both unreasonable and unnecessarily complicated.

“It seems to me that an arrangement was quite easy, which should have added nothing to the public expense, whereas this adds—

1st	.. .. .	60,000 civil list.
2nd	.. .. .	10,000 Queen.
3rd	.. .. .	12,000 Prince’s property tax.
4th	.. .. .	4,000 Carlton House.
Annual addition	..	<u>86,000.</u>

Besides 100,000*l.* outfit.

“I put it as follows :—

The King now receives from his privy purse	..	60,000
The Queen	.. .. .	50,000
		<u>£110,000</u>

“I suppose the first sum to be fully sufficient to cover the real expenses of the King’s present situation, and the plea of an addition to the Queen’s income for repair of her houses is nugatory, because that expense is already borne in one shape or other by the public, and is not therefore any new charge to be provided for. As she does not in fact become entitled to those houses till the actual demise, there is no reason for throwing that expense upon her now.

“The Prince, it is said, now receives net 130,000*l.*, though it is well known that Cornwall is looked to for much more than the annual sum of 13,000*l.*, at which I understand it to be put in this estimate.

“Of this income there is already appropriated—

To the Princess and her creditors ..	27m.	} 57,000
To his own debts	30m.	

Remains	73,000
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“Then if he chooses further to apply to his debts the income of the Duchy, which is in some sort his own private property till a demise, that is stated at	13,000
	<hr/>
	60,000

“And he would then have the civil list as the King had it, and with the same privy purse, but with much fewer demands of every sort upon him than attached upon the situation of the King with so large a family.

“And the sum really applicable to his debts would be at the least 43,000*l. per annum*, probably much more as the income of Cornwall increases.

“If the first article, that of the King and Queen’s expense, is thought to be put too low, what is to prevent that being made up from the revenue of the Duchy of Lancaster, which indeed, being in some sort a vested estate, cannot so well be taken from the King ?

“The amount of this we do not know, but it is to be observed that Perceval, the Chancellor of the Duchy, states it as being able to afford 10,000*l. per annum* in addition to the other funds.

“If any addition must be made to the Prince’s debt fund, the easiest mode certainly would be the taking off the property tax, though, if I do not mistake, when the income-tax was first imposed Pitt boasted that the King himself paid it in respect of his privy purse. But I am not quite sure that I am right in this.

“It is true that the civil list is deficient and has been so ever since 1805, so as not to meet the ordinary expenses with which it is charged. But then this expense has hitherto been made good out of other funds, legally applicable to it ; and unless those cease to be applied to it, or are likely to be

deficient in future, this seems no sufficient ground to ask for an increase.

“I do not clearly understand whether any addition is to be asked on this head beyond the 60,000*l.* which is to be added to the civil list on the plea of the King’s illness.

“It is surely a most extraordinary proposal, to continue to him his privy purse as if he were well and to vote 60,000*l.* more to cover the expense of his illness.” *Holograph.*

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, February 12. Stowe.—“If anything were wanting to fix the character of the communication, which is to be made, it would be the step taken to mark exactly what the King intended to hold out in 1782, and I think it fortunate for you that you are relieved at once, whatever may be the subsequent turns and changes in this transaction, from all personal attentions or considerations, by the step that has been taken. I have not for months had the smallest doubt but that some proposition would be made, and that the whole would terminate more or less civilly in the patching up the old Government. This would be more difficult from what has lately passed in the two Houses if there was one grain of public spirit or of conscientious opinion in the character of any one of the Ministers, but as that is not the case I see not the smallest reason for doubting but that Perceval and Lord Wellesley will shake hands and Lord Sidmouth, Castlereagh and Canning will be brought in to guarantee the mutual good faith of these two great Ministers! Of the two first of these three coadjutors I have no doubt, and I see no reason why Canning should not be as ready to join such a Government as he was (and would be again) to join yours.

“It is deplorable to live in times where there is so little of real principle to guide and so much of profligate passion to mislead the conduct of public men at a period when God knows whether all the virtue and all the abilities that have ever guided the councils of the country would hardly save it.

“With these impressions I cannot wish you so ill as to hope to see you engaged in a Government where the master holds out no one ray of hope that is to cheer you in your gloomy prospect, and where I fear you will find it utterly impossible to hope for success, with means so very limited as those with which you seem to propose to work. I can have no partiality for Lord Wellesley or Canning, but if I thought very ill of the proposed launch of last year I certainly think that your boat of this year, manned only by the existing Opposition and uniting against you all the force that can be commanded by Perceval, Canning, Lord Sidmouth and above all the new force created for the Prince and for the Queen, cannot swim for an hour; and I should deceive you if I did not press upon you my conviction that such a Government would be much weaker *now* than it would have been last year, and that unless

you strengthen yourself from the existing Government you have no means of meeting this or even a new Parliament. I feel that by these suggestions I only confirm you in your dislike to the thing in any shape, and it certainly is very ungracious in me to endeavour to urge you to lend yourself to the painful duty of endeavouring to save the country at the very time that I take for withdrawing myself as much as possible from all public considerations. But I am quite satisfied that all this communication will terminate with the same bad faith with which it is begun, and that you will not be put to the necessity of making any unpleasant options. I cannot, however, but think that it would be wise to *force* the breaking off on a public ground (namely the Catholic question) rather than on one personal, and I hope that the negotiation will proceed just long enough to enable you to break upon that point.

“As to my journey to town, I am so entirely uninformed of all that passes that I am very little able to assist your councils, particularly as to a Ministry of which I should so much despair as of that which you have stated to me, but if the negotiation goes on I feel that you have a right to all the comfort that I can give you from the truest affection and the warmest love for your happiness and fair fame, and if I can soften to your mind any of the many thorns that will press upon it I will be with you at a moment’s notice.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

[1812, February 13,] Thursday night, 12 o’clock.—“I am just come home and find your note, which confirms the intelligence that I had from Lord Essex this evening. He told me that he knew from unquestionable authority that it was the intention at Carlton House to act upon the principle of your being pledged to the Catholic question to its fullest extent, while it was hoped that Grey would be found to acquiesce in delaying the accomplishment till after the King’s death; and Essex said it was stated to him as the language of the Prince that his friend Fox had acquiesced in the necessity of deferring the Catholic emancipation till after the King’s death, and therefore he, the Prince, considered himself as adopting his friend Fox’s principles in deferring the final question till after the death of the King. As I had also heard from the General that the Duke of York represented you as much more violent than Grey upon this subject, it is manifest to me that they are acting upon the principle which Essex had this morning been told of. Grey’s conduct has been in every particular which you describe so perfectly correct as to afford them no hope of any success to this management. I conclude by what you hear of the Prince’s letter dwelling upon the necessity of continued war in Spain that the hope at Carlton House will be, if they cannot separate you from Grey upon the *time* of the Irish question, to establish at least some difference of opinion upon Spanish

war, which may both enable the Prince to appeal to the popular spirit of the country against you upon that subject, and likewise to give him the chance of whatever difference of sentiment may be found in the ranks of Opposition upon that subject. But I think it would not be fair or honourable to blink the dangers of this question of Spanish war by resting altogether and solely upon the question of Ireland, and if you avoided the question of Spain from a sense of these inconveniences still the question would be forced upon you by those who wish to place you under what they think a disadvantage. It appears to me likewise that upon any proposition of an extended government it would be neither manly nor just to keep out of sight any of those leading topics of political opinion which might create any reasonable doubt of public advantage or any fear of personal discredit in the union which is proposed to produce an extended government. I have not therefore the least hesitation in saying that as far as I understand the question I not only think it advisable that your answer should include all the topics to which you advert of commerce, circulation, finance, Spanish war, America and Ireland, but I must also say that any answer which does not distinctly advert to all and every of these points would appear to me to be deficient in that fair, open and manly dealing which for your own character and estimation must be found in your answer. I could not go to bed without these few lines to describe the strong impression of my mind upon this subject, and as you go out so early I thought I should disturb you less by writing than by saying this to you in the hurry of your going out. I will remain at home, as you desire, to see you as you come from the D[uke].”

H.R.H. THE PRINCE REGENT to H.R.H. THE DUKE OF YORK.

1812, February 13. Carlton House.—“As the restrictions on the exercise of the royal authority will shortly expire, when I must make my arrangements for the future administration of the powers with which I am invested, I think it right to communicate to you those sentiments which I was withheld from expressing at an earlier period of the session by my earnest desire that the expected motion on the affairs of Ireland might undergo the deliberate discussion of Parliament, unmixed with any other consideration.

“I think it hardly necessary to call your recollection to the recent circumstances under which I assumed the authority delegated to me by Parliament. At a moment of unexampled difficulty and danger I was called upon to make a selection of persons to whom I should entrust the functions of executive government. My sense of duty to our royal father solely decided that choice, and every private feeling gave way to considerations which admitted of no doubt or hesitation. I trust I acted in that respect as the genuine representative of the august person whose functions I was appointed to

discharge, and I have the satisfaction of knowing that such was the opinion of persons for whose judgment and honourable principles I entertain the highest respect. In various instances, as you well know, where the law of the last Session left me at full liberty I have waived any personal gratification in order that his Majesty might resume on his restoration to health every power and prerogative belonging to his crown; I certainly am the last person in the kingdom to whom it can be permitted to despair of our royal father's recovery.

"A new era is now arrived and I cannot but reflect with satisfaction on the events which have distinguished the short period of my restricted regency. Instead of suffering in the loss of her possessions by the gigantic force which has been employed against them, Great Britain has added most important acquisitions to her empire; the national faith has been preserved inviolate towards our allies and, if character is strength as applied to a nation, the increased and increasing reputation of his Majesty's arms will shew to the nations of the Continent how much they may still achieve when animated by a glorious spirit of resistance to a foreign yoke. In the critical situation of the war in the Peninsula I shall be most anxious to avoid any measure which can lead my allies to suppose that I mean to depart from the present system. Perseverance alone can achieve the great object in question, and I cannot withhold my approbation from those who have honourably distinguished themselves in support of it. I have no predilections to indulge, no resentments to gratify, no objects to attain but such as are common to the whole empire. If such is the leading principle of my conduct, and I can appeal to the past as evidence of what the future will be, I flatter myself I shall meet with the support of Parliament and of a candid and enlightened nation.

"Having made this communication of my sentiments on this new and extraordinary crisis of our affairs, I cannot conclude without expressing the gratification I should feel if some of those persons, with whom the early habits of my public life were formed, would strengthen my hands and constitute a part of my Government. With such support, and aided by a vigorous and united Administration formed on the most liberal basis, I shall look with additional confidence to a prosperous issue of the most arduous contest in which Great Britain was ever engaged.

"You are authorised to communicate these sentiments to Lord Grey, who I have no doubt will make them known to Lord Grenville."

Postscript.—"I shall send a copy of this letter immediately to Mr. Perceval." *Copy.*

EARL GREY AND LORD GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1812, February 15. [Camelford House.]—"We beg leave most humbly to express to your Royal Highness our dutiful

acknowledgments for the gracious and condescending manner in which you have had the goodness to communicate to us the letter of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent on the subject of the arrangements to be now made for the future administration of the public affairs, and we take the liberty of availing ourselves of your gracious permission to address to your Royal Highness in this form what has occurred to us in consequence of that communication. The Prince Regent after expressing to your Royal Highness in that letter his sentiments on various public matters has in the concluding paragraph condescended to intimate his wish 'that some of those persons with whom the early habits of his public life were formed would strengthen his Royal Highness' hands and constitute a part of his Government.' And his Royal Highness is pleased to add 'that with such support, aided by a vigorous and united Administration formed on the most liberal basis, he would look with additional confidence to a prosperous issue of the most arduous contest in which Great Britain was ever engaged.'

"On the other parts of his Royal Highness's letter we do not presume to offer any observations. But on the concluding paragraph, in so far as we may venture to suppose ourselves included in the gracious wish which it expresses, we owe it in obedience and duty to his Royal Highness to explain ourselves with frankness and sincerity.

"We beg leave most earnestly to assure his Royal Highness that no sacrifices except those of honour and duty could appear to us too great to be made for the purpose of healing the divisions of our country and of uniting both its Government and its people. All personal exclusions we entirely disclaim ; we rest on public measures, and it is on this ground alone that we must express without reserve the impossibility of our uniting with the present Government. Our differences of opinion are too many and too important to admit of such an union. His Royal Highness will, we are confident, do us the justice to remember that we have twice already acted on this impression ; in 1809 on the proposition then made to us under his Majesty's authority ; and last year when his Royal Highness was graciously pleased to require our advice respecting the formation of a new Government. The reasons which we then humbly submitted to him are strengthened by the increasing dangers of the times. Nor has there down to this moment appeared even any approximation towards such an agreement of opinion on the public interests as can alone form a basis for the honourable union of parties previously opposed to each other.

"Into the detail of these differences we are unwilling to enter ; they embrace almost all the leading features of the present policy of the empire. But his Royal Highness has himself been pleased to advert to the late deliberations of Parliament on the affairs of Ireland. This is a subject above

all others important in itself and connected with the most pressing dangers. Far from concurring in the sentiments which his Majesty's Ministers have on that occasion so recently expressed, we entertain opinions directly opposite. We are firmly persuaded of the necessity of a total change in the present system of government in that country and of the immediate repeal of those civil disabilities under which so large a portion of his Majesty's subjects still labour on account of their religious opinions. To recommend to Parliament this repeal is the first advice which it would be our duty to offer to his Royal Highness. Nor could we even for the shortest time make ourselves responsible for any further delay in the proposal of a measure without which we could entertain no hope of rendering our services useful to his Royal Highness or to our country.

"We have only therefore farther to beg your Royal Highness to lay before the Prince Regent the expressions of our humble duty and the sincere and respectful assurance of our earnest wishes for whatever may best promote the ease, honour and advantage of his Royal Highness's Government and the success of his endeavours for the public welfare." *Copy.*

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, February 16. Eden Farm.—"Your kind communication ought to have arrived yesterday at noon, but did not come to hand till eight o'clock this morning. George Eden, however, happened to have received a very early account of the particulars and forwarded it on Friday evening.

"I reserve remarks in the hope of seeing you early on Tuesday, before which time many elucidations will have taken place.

"The negotiation may be broken off for the present, but it is much within possibility that it must soon be re-opened. Indeed, when one looks at the questions which are impending, amidst gigantic embarrassments which are increasing, it is hardly credible that the Prince will wish (or indeed be able) to entangle himself in the glaring and unbecoming inconsistencies which are in view and which will separate from him several even of those who wish to call themselves his private friends. The prospect every way is very bad for all."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to THE SAME.

1812, February 16. Stowe.—"I perfectly agree with every word of your answer and I do not see an opening for misconstruction save that your silence on the very offensive manner in which the Spanish success is adverted to appears to admit what I know is not your view of that question, namely that the whole of that object and the cause of our Allies is to be abandoned. If I am to judge from the very little that falls under my observation, I should think that your ideas on this

subject are but little understood, and have been grossly misstated to your prejudice. I am, however, so happy that you have found and so completely taken the opportunity of resting your political situation on the Irish and Catholic questions, that I consider everything else as comparatively of small importance. As to the letter to the D[uke] of Y[ork], you will agree with me that nothing can be more unlike the style and language of the P[rince] than the whole of it. I conclude therefore that it is Lord Yarmouth's composition, and I am the more inclined to this opinion from thinking as ill as I do of him. It is difficult to understand the course of the D[uke] of York's conduct, for, certainly, the letter cannot bear the interpretation which he gives of it. I have, however, heard upon another occasion that he is very jealous of Lord Yarmouth and upon bad terms with him, and this may be the explanation of his construction of that composition. It is, however, clear to me that the negotiation is not closed; and, notwithstanding my brother Tom's information to the contrary, I am persuaded that the P[rince] will feel personally or will be told that he has the worst of this experiment, and that he will try to put himself upon better or rather you upon worse grounds. The arrangement to which the Duke looks is evidently that of saving Lord Wellesley, and if you had given the slightest encouragement to that discussion, this object would have been avowed. But I, who see the utter impossibility of forming a Government in which you do not include Lord Wellesley and Canning, am the first to cry out against the proposition of receiving them from the hands of the P[rince] *as a part of the Ministry to which you are to accede.*

"The first result, however, of all this will be Percival and Wellesley, with Castlereagh or Canning or both; and this patch will enable them to go through the Session at least as well as they have hitherto done; but this will not finally be till various attempts will have been made under the various impressions of alarm that will arise in the mind of the P[rince] in the course of the next ten days.

"I have been informed that Lord Wellesley will not hear of continuing in office, but of this I do not believe one word. It is, however, *certain* that he is looking either to India or to Ireland as the only two objects that can give him bread in the utter bankruptcy that now presses sorely upon him. The last mark of his favour at Carleton House was the being invited after an audience at Carleton House on Monday last (to which the D[uke] of York was admitted, it being on a question of reinforcements to Lord Wellington) to a *lunch* with the P[rince] R[egent] and the Duke on beef steaks and Dantzic waters, while Percival was waiting for his audience. The result of this lunch was the complete intoxication of the Prince and a violent indigestion of Lord Wellesley; but in this strange scene of drunken royalty the P[rince] is reported by Lord Wellesley to have said 'At least, Frederick, we will save

this good fellow Wellesley!’ See what you might have come to in time and groan over the negative you have given.”

EARL GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1812, February 19. Portman Square.]—“I send you the copy of the conversation which has been returned to me by the Duke of York, with a note from Adam which accompanied it. You will probably wish to take a copy of the minute of the conversation, and when you have done so I will thank you to send it back to me.

“Wellesley is certainly out, and I believe Lord Bathurst will succeed him in the Foreign Office. I have not heard of any other arrangements, nor anything of the interior of Carlton House.”

Enclosure :

WILLIAM ADAM to EARL GREY.

1812, February 18. [Carlton House.]—“I send you a fair copy of the paper containing the Duke of York’s account of the conversation, with your amendments inserted in red ink, to all which his Royal Highness acceded subject to one observation inserted in common ink.

“The Duke of York expressed much gratification at the manner in which your lordship expresses Lord Grenville’s sentiments and your own regarding his Royal Highness.”
Copy. Enclosing :—

MINUTE OF MY CONVERSATION WITH LORDS GREY AND GRENVILLE.

N.B.—The passages on this side were all inserted in red ink, with the exception of that one immediately after the line *In common ink*.

15th February, 1812.

the proposal that had been made to them ;

Lord Grenville began by stating to me that he and Lord Grey had thought it most advisable to put their sentiments upon the Prince Regent’s letter to me in writing (of which he delivered to me two copies, as well as returned me the letter itself) and was sorry to acquaint me that, after the most mature deliberation, they were under the necessity of declining to enter into the proposed negotiation ; to which I replied that I lamented most sincerely this communication, but begged leave to read the answer through and to state anything that might strike me as wanting explanation in it.

both Lord Grenville and Lord Grey said

political unions could not be honourable where there was not an agreement on public measures, and that on this ground

whole tenor and construction of the Prince's letter, which consisted of a communication of his Royal Highness's sentiments on the advantages resulting from the system pursued by the present Government and concluded, after having made this communication, by expressing the gratification the Prince would feel if some of the

therefore they could only understand

Having read it, after a short pause, *Lord Grey began by saying* that they disclaimed all personal exclusion, but that *it was quite impossible for them to unite with the present Government*, and upon my expressing my surprise at this notion of the proposal and asking an explanation, Lord Grey answered that it was collected from the *expression in the Prince's paper of his wish that some of those persons with whom the early habits of his public life were formed would strengthen his*

hands, and which *they understood* to mean a junction with the present Administration. To which I replied that this was by no means the Prince's intention; that his idea was to form an Administration upon a broad basis by a union of different parties, of which he should consider himself as the keystone and as a centre round which their lordships and others might rally—and that this was one of the reasons for which he had chosen to employ me upon this overture, as it had generally been considered as a piece of political etiquette that the person who was employed on such negotiations was considered as intended to be at the head of the new Administration, whereas that never could be the case in my instance. And upon Lord Grey's saying that *this expression had not been*

explanation could not be

collected from the letter itself by anybody who read it.

In this part of the conversation the Duke of York mentioned the difference in this respect between this proposal and that of 1809, which had been made through Mr. Percival, to which Lord Grenville answered that in that respect there was a total difference, and that nothing could be more honourable to Lord Grey and himself than the Duke of York being the channel of the present communication; but that this circumstance, flattering as it was to them, could not vary their answer to the terms of this letter.

To this Lord Grey said that what they were required to consider was a written statement that to this an answer could only be made in writing, and that they could not under a verbal explanation answer a written statement, affixing to it a sense which it obviously could not bear; that undoubtedly if the proposal to them had been to form an Administration comprehending as large a description of persons as could be brought to agree with them in their views of the public interests, a different answer would have been given, and that if in their present answer they should appear to the Prince to have misunderstood his meaning, the mistake might be corrected.

In common ink.

I do not exactly recollect this passage; but I remember something like it. However, my view of this part of the subject had been already given

understood till this explanation, I proposed, as this might make a difference in their sentiments, that they should

reconsider their paper. *Lord Grey seemed at first to hesitate, but soon answered that it would probably occasion an alteration only of an expression without making any change in the general sentiments of the paper, and that as this was the impression they derived from the letter, till explained by me, the answer ought not to be altered.*

Lord Grey then slightly touched upon the expression in the Prince's paper of his approbation of the management of the political concerns of the nation, but entered

warmly into his and his friends' feelings on the subject of Catholic emancipation, and hinted at the Prince's former opinions upon that head in the years 1803 and 4,

by me, namely: that it was inconsistent with my being the person to make the overture which was to avoid the proposal assuming the shape of its coming from either party, but as being the Prince's proposal, of which he considered himself to be the centre.*

Lord Grey certainly did not say that it had been his wish to keep back the Catholic question this year, which would have been contrary to the fact; his statement was that he had endeavoured to prevent its being forced into discussion in 1807, but that the danger was now so great and so much increased in Lord Grey's apprehension by the probable effect of the disappointment which would follow if the claims of the Catholics were not acceded to by the Government of the Prince Regent, that he could not now take upon himself the responsibility of the shortest delay.

for an union with them.

to which I answered that I was not informed of them, but asked if their lordships had not been acquainted with the Prince's sentiments on that head in the years 1806 and 7, which still continued the same, and his wish to prevent the question being brought forward—to which he answered that they had equally wished to keep it back then, that it had at that time been brought forward against their wills, *and that it was likewise so this year.* I then asked if this was the only impediment to forming a combined Administration, when both Lord Grey and Lord Grenville said that they differed with the present Administration upon almost every political subject—many of them of the highest importance and only secondary to the Catholic question, so that they saw no hope or possibility of any favourable

termination to a negotiation. It then only remained for me to express that I should carry the answer with a heavy heart to the Prince, who I was sure would lament it equally with myself." *Copy.*

MEMORANDUM BY THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK OF THE PRINCE REGENT'S CONVERSATION WITH HIM ON WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1812.

1812, February 19.—“That he had been used most cruelly and most unkindly by his friends; that no event in the course of his life had ever occasioned him so much uneasiness;

* *N.B.*—This seems to be the Duke's comment on Lord Grey's repudiation of his statement in the column to the right, 'it was likewise so this year.'

that his intentions were by no means such as had been imputed to him ; that the Duke of York assured Lords Grenville and Grey that if they wished any sort of explanation he, the Regent, would be ready to see them and to afford such explanation ; that he had selected the Duke of York to convey the communication on purpose to show them that no person was considered by him to be at the head of the Administration at that time ; that for three weeks preceding he had positively and repeatedly refused to satisfy Mr. Perceval's enquiries as to his purpose of continuing him as his Minister. That he meant to have communicated with Lords Grey and Grenville the day after the meeting of Parliament had not what he termed their *ill-judged hurry* to bring on the Catholic question rendered it impossible for him to do so till that was disposed of ; that he had *opened the door* for his old political friends, meaning and hoping that they would rally round him, instead of which they had most cruelly stood on punctilios and not permitted him, if he had been misconceived, to explain himself ; that he had also been shamefully abused even before the meeting of Parliament and from the meeting to the very period of his letter to the Duke of York, by the under-strappers and even by the second-rates of the Opposition ; that he had disregarded this, though he could not help thinking that they might have been kept in better order by their leaders, though he did not impute to the latter in the smallest degree their approving or encouraging such language, and was sure that they had too much honour and proper feeling and good sense to use it themselves ; that it was most unfortunate that there were so many female politicians amongst the Opposition, who were always violent and seldom judged correctly ; that he thought it hard that the country and himself should suffer because those whom he had ever treated as his friends chose to misunderstand him, form determinations for him without sufficient data and manifest no anxiety to ascertain what was really intended.

“ On the Catholic question he appears very decided. He does not construe the coronation oath as the King did, but asserts that without his consent as one branch of the Legislature the Catholic claims cannot be carried ; that whilst he lives those claims shall never be admitted as a *right* but as a *boon*, in consequence of some *specific proposition* which shall provide for the security of the existing Protestant establishment in Church and State ; that he considers Ireland as an integral part of the United Kingdom and the Catholic population of it therefore only in proportion to the entire population of the two countries ; that he conceives that a certain number, or rather a few, of liberal-minded Churchmen—like (of course) myself—with an equal proportion of lawyers and statesmen might devise some proper security for the establishment, but that the Opposition seemed to disclaim every kind of proposal or approximation on this subject, or even to allow

themselves time to consider whether such approximation were feasible; that his Government as now constituted must necessarily be weak, and could in fact be supported only by the feelings of the country; that it was not his fault that it did not possess a stronger. Of Lord Wellesley's abilities he has the very highest opinion; lamented most earnestly his quitting him at this period, but said he would go out in a *blaze of glory*. That he has now only Lord Liverpool; to my observation respecting Perceval's superiority to all the rest, he said . . . ; Lord Sidmouth he despises and called him a stupid ——; Canning most useful and brilliant in the House of Commons, but insincere and intriguing."

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, February 20. Eden Farm.—“The immediate object of my sending to town to-day is to contribute as far as I can to the declining of the offer to Lord Minto; and I write accordingly to Mr. Elliot, who is at the Royal Hotel, Pall Mall. Lady Auckland and I are strongly of opinion that Lord Minto will disapprove the acceptance, more especially under all the present circumstances. Lord Melville (through Mr. Vansittart) is pressing for an answer; I have declined any answer to them, as I am not authorised to interfere, except in so far as I have been consulted by Lady Minto and Mr. Elliot, but I have expressed my opinions strongly and earnestly to them. Here we think that the best answer is a simple refusal; and I trouble you with these particulars that you may not be unapprized, if Mr. Gilbert Elliot should call on you, as indeed I wish that he would.

“I feel very curious to learn a little more of the *dénouement*. The answer reads to great advantage in print. I could almost have wished that a little more pointed observation had been made on the distresses of the country as resulting irrecoverably from the measures of the Ministers, but there will be occasions superabundant to exemplify that point.

“There is in the Prince's letter a most unfortunate phrase ‘character is strength.’ It did not strike me till this morning.

“I have looked into the printed debates on the Orders in Council, and on the American negotiation. If you have not got the collection and would wish to give a cursory view to it, I can mark the places and can carry the volumes with me to town. There is also a pamphlet of Phillimore on the licence trade and its mischiefs, which you probably have.

“We will go to town on Tuesday morning unless you prefer Monday, in which case you or Lady Grenville will perhaps have the goodness to send half a line.

“A friend of mine (in office), who had long been excluded, was admitted to see the Prince on Tuesday. The Prince affected to be angry with you and Lord Grey for misapprehending his letter, and denied strongly that he either meant or had expressed the idea of uniting, or that the mode in

which your name was introduced was meant as any slight. He shewed his hand which is visibly affected, but seemed to be in better health and spirits than was supposed.

“In 1806 and 1807 the value of cottons and woollens exported to the United States was nine millions annually.

“It appears in the printed debates that in February, 1808, we repeatedly stated that the improvident violation of the laws of nations in respect to neutrals, and the haughty and foolish answers to Pinkney, would destroy our commerce and plunge us into a war with the United States.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1812, February 21. Eden Farm.—“Unless we should hear by this night’s post that you prefer Monday, we will make our arrangements to breakfast at Camelford House on Tuesday, and perhaps it would not be inconvenient to Lord Lansdowne and Lord Grey to meet me there at a quarter or half-past eleven; but if that hour should be too early for them I shall go at eleven to Hamilton Place and return to Camelford House at twelve or one, or whenever they may appoint. In the meantime I will look into what passed heretofore relative to the Orders in Council. The *Morning Chronicle* of this day seems to report that those Orders are now to be withdrawn. It may be so, and great credit will of course be assumed for its being so. In the meantime they have done great and irreparable mischief.”

Private.—“I will write to-morrow to Lord Francis Osborne to press him to attend on Thursday, but surely it would have been better to have arranged the trial and display of strength on some motion to have been made at a day a little more distant and by some individual of high mark and interests in the country.

“I received a long letter from Gilbert Elliot yesterday; he said that he would see you and would be implicitly guided and decided by your opinion. Still he gives a sort of *raisonnement alembique* as if he would possibly accept the offer for his father, who will, I am sure, be displeased if such should be the result.”

EARL GREY to THE SAME.

[1812, February 25. Portman Square.]—“I have marked, as far as I know them, the peers that are in town; probably there may be some of the others, of whom you may know more than I do.

“The report of the French Fleet being off the coast of Ireland was very prevalent in the city. It is said certainly to be out from the Scheldt.

“I hear the agitation at Carlton House is extreme, and I am not without apprehensions that we may hear something more from thence.

"You probably know that the Duke of Norfolk was sent for. I saw him after he had been at Carlton House. MacMahon had shown him the papers, but he had not seen the Prince. I explained everything that had passed, with which he appeared to be very well satisfied, but he said he was writing a letter to the Prince under the first impression of the feelings excited by the communication of the papers, which he wished to be able to state truly was without consultation with anybody. He thereupon was silent upon it, but from some things that dropped from him I do not think it will tend to restore the tranquillity of Carlton House.

"I had a letter this morning from Lord Fitzwilliam, who is eager to give his first vote against a Government of the Prince's own choice. He says he believes there is a great disposition in the clothiers of the West Riding to petition against the Orders in Council. I have recommended it to him to forward this as much as possible and advise the petitioning to Parliament rather than the Prince. I hope you will think this right.

"I have marked Lord Headfort and Lord Moira because they are both in town, but I think there may be some doubt about sending to them. The first, I take it, will certainly be with the Prince, and I think you could not with propriety send to Lord Moira without some previous communication with him."

Private. LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, March 4. Eden Farm.—"I have meditated much on the subject which you started yesterday, and I have had some conversation with Mr. Wedderburn, who is very intelligent respecting the various enterprizes (good and bad) actually dependent, to an immense extent, on accommodation bills, which bills depend on bank paper, which paper is multiplied and maintained by the Exchequer bills, navy bills and the great mass of unfunded debt.

"I am satisfied that the whole system is vicious and is tending to increased distress and calamity, and that the remedy is to be sought in a funding of the floating debt and in an abandonment of the tempting facilities of bank advances.

"I conceive, however, that this must be done gradually, though decidedly, in a continued progression more or less accelerated according to the effects which may shew themselves, and with a strong and steady Government it might be accomplished in two years, possibly in twelve months. And all this without prejudice to collateral measures for diminishing the general bulk of the bank issues, the small notes, the paper of private banks. The result would soon give a bullion circulation and a correction of false prices created by an overcharged and depreciated currency.

"I recommend this matter to your thoughts in the Dropmore plantations between to-morrow and Monday.

“I have a note from a correspondent living in mixed society. He writes: ‘I begin to have doubts whether in the ticklish state of things the noble Marquis will have the courage to accept the chamberlainship; if he should, we shall see a descendant of the proud Protector Somerset and of Henry IV walking bare-headed with the mace before Mr. Abbot. Molyneux’s great office is promised to *Sir Robert* [Tyrwhitt], who is to have a baronetage, to which he has a family claim. The Prince is expected to have a *levée* on Thursday, the 12th.’ ”

EARL GREY to THE SAME.

1812, March 6. Portman Square.—“I intended to have called on you yesterday, having been desired by Lord Donoughmore to consult you about the day for bringing on the Catholic question, but I heard you were out of town.

“Grattan, I see, has fixed the 13th of next month for the debate in the House of Commons. It is desirable, I think, that we should have ours first, and if you should be of that opinion the Monday preceding (the 6th) must, I think, be the day. The Quarter Sessions are in that week and Lord Spencer in particular would be obliged to be absent about the 8th or 9th. The 6th, he says, would suit him perfectly. I will settle it therefore with Lord Donoughmore, unless I hear from you to the contrary, to give notice on Monday for that day.

“I know nothing new but the Household appointments, which you will see in the papers. Adair yesterday had a long interview with the Prince, having been sent for, when the Prince proposed to him to go to Sweden, first to make peace there, and afterwards to proceed to Petersburg, if an invitation, which they expected, should be sent to him from that Court, and there establish a new system of Continental co-operation against France. Adair declined the mission.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1812, March 7.] Portman Square.—“When I wrote to you yesterday I expected that Lord Donoughmore would not have given his notice till Monday and that he would have fixed, if you did not object to it, Monday, 6th of April, for his motion on the Catholic petition. When I came home in the evening I found a note from him, in which he said that in consequence of Grattan’s notice he could not defer his and that he could not be in town before Friday, the 10th. The House does not meet after the holidays till the 8th. What passed in the House of Lords (I was not there) you will see in the papers. Many of our friends in the House of Commons, and particularly Tierney, had been urging Lord Donoughmore to let the motion there have the precedence, and in consequence of this he gave the sort of uncertain notice that you will see. I confess I can see no good reason for postponing the motion in the House of Lords. On the contrary I believe our division

will be better than theirs and our debate probably not worse.

“You will see that Perceval has given notice of a call of the House, from which I suppose a great exertion is to be made, with a view to settling the question, as it is called, by a decisive expression of the opinion of the House of Commons, and possibly with a further view of giving a rather more formal contradiction to the statement of the Prince. He had yesterday another refusal, after another two hours’ conference, in which all the same absurdities and lies were repeated, from Darnley, who declined the office of Groom of the Stole. Yet I hear he is in great spirits and thinks he has managed matters very cleverly. There are very bad accounts from Lancashire of disturbance there and from Birmingham.”

EARL GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1812, March.] Portman Square.—“I last night received a note from George Ponsonby, in which he says that he is worse and, being forbid to talk, desired I would consider who should make the necessary statement to the meeting this evening. It appeared to me, as well as to Holland, Lauderdale and Tierney, that the best way was to put the meeting off, in which there could be no inconvenience, as the letters have been published, so that everybody is in possession of what passed, and no question is likely to come on in the House of Commons till the week after next, before which time I hope Ponsonby will be well enough to do what is required of him.

“If you will be at home about one I will call upon you at that time, as I wish to speak to you about the publication of our conversation with the Duke of York, which I think ought to be added to the letters, and with respect to which some difficulty has occurred.

“Can you tell me what day Lord Lansdowne has fixed for his motion, as I promised to let the Duke of Gloucester know?”

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

[1812,] March 19. Eden Farm.—“We shall be much gratified by a single line from you or from Lady Grenville to say that your cold is removed by the pure air of Dropmore and that you are able to enjoy this gentle frost.

“Lady Auckland was summoned yesterday evening to Hamilton Place to chaperon Mary and Lady Sarah Hobart to the Duchess of Dorset’s ball, Lady Buckinghamshire being unable to encounter the fatigue. Lady Auckland is not yet returned: I expect to learn from her that the accession of the Sidmouths is adjusted. They have five or six votes already pledged on every material point, and they require five or six principal offices.

“There has been an explanation between Mr. Perceval and Lord Wentworth and the latter is continued.

“George writes to me that he had arrived in time from York

to give a vote against Lord Stanhope's mischievous bill; that Chinnery of the Treasury is said to be a defaulter for a large sum of money; that George Rose is certainly *out* upon a quarrel with Lord Bathurst ('I suppose only from the gratuitous labours of the Board of Trade'); that Croker goes to the Treasury, William Dundas to the Secretaryship of the Admiralty. He adds that Lord Lansdowne had done everything possible to suppress the hisses at the Regent's health, which hisses were redoubled and continued during a drunken and indiscreet speech of Sheridan's. It is supposed that Lord Wellesley is not to confine himself to-day to the conduct of the war, but that he is to enter into a detail of various other squabbles in the Cabinet. No perversion of mind, however great, can conceal from the Prince that, in a period of great and growing difficulties, he has with an irreparable abandonment of character, entangled himself and the whole empire in a system of weakness, absurdity, degradation and calamity.

"Lord Uxbridge's will was made ten years ago and gives to Lady Uxbridge 3,000*l.* and 3,000*l.* a year. No mention is made of any of the children. By a recent codicil a place near Kingston lately purchased and worth about 20,000*l.* is left to Lady Uxbridge. Sir Arthur Paget is left, it is said, in great distress.

"Thornton is gone to Petersburg and, the report adds, to offer a subsidy."

Postscript.—"Lord Uxbridge leaves immense estates, but 400,000*l.* debt.

"Lady Auckland is just returned; nothing yet settled as to the Sidmouths."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

[1812, March. Cleveland Square.]—"No letter has come to you from Lord Bute. Lord Darnley had a long audience of an hour and a half yesterday, in which the Prince defended his letter, protested against being considered as hostile to the Catholics, two or three times said that he *differed toto cælo* upon the question with Perceval, but that it must be properly asked by Ireland and must be more popular in England before it could be granted, and that, though he had not the same difficulties with his father upon the *coronation oath*, yet as he was still only his father's trustee, as long as he was so he must respect his father's prejudices. Darnley says that he himself spoke to the Prince very roundly and openly upon the dangers of the course that the Prince was taking, asserted that not one man in 10,000 could be found to understand the letter as the Prince explained it, and ended by saying that he thought the Prince's household should support his Government, which in honour and conscience he could not do, and therefore must decline the office of Groom of the Stole. The report to-day is that Lord Winchester has accepted it and that they are in

hopes of Lord Scarborough's taking a Lord of the Bedchamber. It is universally believed that there will be a *levée* on Thursday, but there is great question about going or not. Grey said last week at a large dinner that nothing should persuade him to go, and I heartily hope both you and he will agree to stay away, in which case I am confident a large majority of our friends would likewise stay away. Fortescue, Essex and Carlisle have just left me; all of them are inclined to stay away if Grey and you do, and I own I am very anxious to see that resolution taken, not as you will easily believe from any peevish impatience, but from a very strong opinion that nothing can be done without making a proper impression upon the public mind of the necessity of overcoming the new system of favouritism which is now endeavoured to be established. In my mind, therefore, everything which marks this hostility the most becomes expedient and necessary and I shall be very glad indeed to find that our friends are all as much disposed to this view of the subject as I find all those to be with whom I have conversed. The Ministers are full of fears. Lord Courtoun yesterday told Freemantle he was convinced they could not stand because their constant suspicions of the Prince betraying them made it impossible for them to take any strong or confident hold of public measures.

"The Archbishop of York tells me that he had so often voted for the Orders in Council that he could not vote with us against them without a longer speech than he knew how to make, but he said he would certainly vote with us against the licences.

"Lord Carnarvon is gone into the country for Easter holidays, but has left word that he has left his proxy for you at his house in town if you should want it."

Four o'clock.—"Filer has just brought me a letter from Lord Buckingham to you, just arrived by a servant; I have opened it and have sent for Lauderdale in order to give him the letter and to tell him Lord Buckingham's opinion of the probable want of success which will attend it.

"I have just given to Lauderdale the letter from Lord Buckingham to M——. Lauderdale, however, has some doubt whether they will vacate the seat.

"Lauderdale is the only person whom I have yet seen who says that he will go to the *levée*, but he says he thinks it right to go after his letter to the Prince. I told him fairly that if I had writ that letter I should rather think it a reason the more for not going. However, he must judge for himself. He says he will try to persuade Grey to go, but does not know if he shall succeed. I heartily hope not. Lord Amherst has refused the Bedchamber on account of his opinions on the Catholic question. Stanhope and Stanwix are Grooms. Bradshaw refuses because he expected better and because he cannot afford the expense of re-election.

"Adair had an audience yesterday of the Prince for an

hour, in which the Prince pressed him to take *any* foreign employment and said that Lord Wellesley had always strongly and earnestly recommended and praised him to the Prince. Adair refused to have any connection with this Ministry and called to leave his name with Lord Wellesley, who saw him and kept him an hour in the abuse of Perceval, and said he would go to the House on Monday for an opportunity to repeat all this abuse upon his legs ; so if you have a mind to hear it you may. Lord Wellesley is now with the Prince, asking leave to speak of Cabinet measures, a leave which the Prince will probably give with great satisfaction."

EARL GREY TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, March 20. Portman Square.—" I cannot help troubling you with a single line to express my anxiety to hear something of yourself, as you appeared to leave town under so much indisposition, as well as of the afflicted family with which you are. I cannot express to you how much I feel for the sudden and irreparable calamity you have all sustained. May I, if it is not intruding too much on their affliction, request you to offer my kind remembrances to Lord Buckingham and Lord Temple.

" The most remarkable occurrence of last night's debate was the total omission of Lord Wellesley's promised explanation. This is, I think, extremely discreditable to him after the language he had held and the expectation he had raised. Even if he had not done so, I should have thought it necessary, considering the situation he so lately held, for him to have made some statement of the principles and motives of his conduct before he joined in supporting a motion of so strong a character as an address for the removal of the Administration. He was under a sort of engagement to speak before me, and as it was at his particular instance that the motion, which I had strongly pressed to have delayed, was brought forward he certainly ought to have done so. I was naturally most anxious to have the opportunity of speaking after him and Liverpool, but seeing there was no chance of his stirring, and indeed that the debate would fail, I was obliged to speak after the Chancellor. I hope there will be nothing in the report of my speech that will at all clash with any of your opinions. I am sure that I said nothing in which you would not have fully concurred. Wellesley told me below the Bar that he could only have repeated in a great measure what I had said and that his statement, if he had made it, would have gone very far in confirming my views of the war. This, instead of being an excuse for his silence, seemed to me to have created an additional obligation on him to speak."

Private. LORD AUCKLAND TO THE SAME.

1812, March 25. Eden Farm.—" You will probably have heard that the arrangement for Lord Sidmouth and Lord

Buckinghamshire was definitely announced yesterday. It is a good *espièglerie* on the part of Lord Castlereagh that on his return into office his uncle should go out. That accommodation must have gone much against the grain.

"A small private occurrence leads me to believe that it is in the contemplation of Mr. Perceval to dissolve at the close of the Session unless the tide of popular opinion should take a just turn against his Government. I have been asked on the part of a person connected with Administration whether there would be any risk in proposing for a family borough the son of that person whilst still a minor; and I find that he will be at age in September.

"Lord Uxbridge has settled 1,000*l.* a year addition to his mother's jointure and has given 40,000*l.* to Sir Arthur, and made up the fortunes of his other brothers from 3,000*l.* to 10,000*l.* each. The reason of the larger sum to Sir Arthur, who had already received 20,000*l.*, is that Lord Uxbridge had recently expressed an intention to settle the Irish estate on him.

"Mr. George Rose wrote a few days ago to a Bath physician, at the request of Sir Joseph Banks, to ask the particulars of the disease of Mrs. Fitzpatrick's brother, who had taken the '*eau medicinale*.' The answer was accompanied by a postscript, marked *private and separate*, and filled with the most contemptuous abuse of Sir Joseph's philosophical pretensions. Rose intended to transmit the letter to Sir Joseph and to destroy the postscript, but inadvertently he burnt the letter and sent the postscript. The Bath philosopher had taken offence, having sent to the Royal Society a piece of old iron with an argument to shew that it had belonged to the thunderbolt of the statue of *Jupiter Tonans*, and the president pronounced it to be a part of an old horseshoe.

"Mr. Canning is said to have been asked, at the close of the House of Lords' debate, what he thought of the Marquis's appearance, and to have answered, 'He is very like *Tacitus*.'"

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1812, March.] Eden Farm.—"On Thursday I directed a few lines to you at Dropmore; to-day we have received Lady Grenville's letter and are grateful for her recollection that we take a cordial interest in your brother's irreparable affliction and in the consequent state of his health.

"I do not know any news. Lord Wellesley's nervousness in the Thursday's debate has subjected him to ridicule, the impression of which will not easily be removed."

EARL GREY to THE SAME.

1812, March 26. Portman Square.—"I quite agree with you as to the malignant purpose and mischievous effect of the *Letter to a Protestant Dissenter*, which I had received,

in the same manner that you had, before you sent it to me. I have sent it to Butler, with a recommendation to get it answered, not knowing any other person to whom I could apply for that purpose. Haywood is out of town and is besides very slow in his movements; Sydney Smith I do not think would do a thing of this sort well.

“Will you have the goodness to apply to Lord Bute for his interest in Northumberland in favour of Sir Charles Monck? A strong and early letter to his agent at Newcastle, Mr. Clayton, who is both from inclination and connection extremely hostile to us, would be of the greatest service. No other candidate has yet appeared and it is understood the Duke of Northumberland has failed in all his endeavours to find one. His answers to Monck’s applications has been as usual equivocating and evasive, but very ill disguising personal hostility. At present there is every appearance of Monck coming in without opposition, as I got the writ sent to him three days ago, and the election may be brought on so soon as to leave very little time for another candidate.

“You will see what with the Indian Charter, Stanhope’s Bill, *et cetera*, there is plenty of work cut out for us after the holidays, if we attend at all.

“The Prince, I hear, is furious at what passed in the House of Commons on the subject of the Princess, but says that Perceval behaved very handsomely.

“The Common Hall to-day will, I imagine, be entirely in favour of Waithman’s politics. I am very glad to hear so good an account from Lord Buckingham.”

Private. LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1812, April 1. Eden Farm.—“I met Lord Fortescue in Berkeley Square on Monday morning and learnt from him that you settled at Dropmore on Saturday.

“I was in town that day for the purpose of getting a house and succeeded beyond expectation. We have taken one in Hertford Street, the second door from Lady Liverpool’s; it is small, but sufficiently neat and very airy, and with the advantages of being near to the two parks and to Hamilton Street. We have it till the 26th May and I shall be sincerely glad when that period arrives.

“Lord Grey shewed to me on Monday a list of your expected division on the 10th instant, containing 90 certain and 16 doubtful. I forgot to look whether Lord Caledon’s name is included. I have reason to believe that he is in every sense doubtful and quite undecided both as to the question of the day and as to the line of political connection to be taken hereafter. This, however, with a strong leaning towards you and to Lord Hardwicke. You will best know whether you can do anything towards settling him.

“I have a letter from Lord Gwyder at Bath, in which he says: ‘Burrell is gone to Boston in consequence of Fyde’s

death. On the question of the Orders in Council I sent my proxy to Burrell desiring him to beg you to take charge of it, and in case you were not in town to beg the same favour of Lord Grenville.'

"I mention this because I do not recollect that the proxy was given; at least I never heard of it. Lord Gwyder adds: 'I long to talk these matters over with you, but the state of my health will keep me here till the end of April at least. I do not much like to vote on great questions by proxy; I wish, however, that you would write fully to me.'

"I will write to-morrow to him, and have little doubt that he will give his proxy; but I fear that your list is full, and he may be shy as to the individuals to whom he would apply.

"We have this week a very full house, an assemblage of Elliots, Carnegies, Edens, Buckinghamshires, Disbrowes and others. I think that we shall settle in Hertford Street on the 11th or 13th."

EARL GREY TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, April 1. Portman Square.—"I hear the Prince has come through all the regular stages of first professing favour to the Catholic question; then neutrality; at last to a decidedly hostile canvass against it, in which all means are resorted to, both fair and foul, either to gain votes from us or to keep them away. This is an additional incentive to activity on our part, and I hope you will write in time to every peer with respect to whose attendance, either from distance or negligence, there may be any doubt. I still think we shall be near, if not quite, 100.

"If you kept copies of the papers on the Princess's business, I wish you would bring them to town with you, as I am anxious to refresh my memory upon it, particularly as to the advice we last gave respecting her being received at Court.

"I have seen a variety of letters from the army, some from officers of high rank, of as late a date as 14 March, all speaking very confidently of success in the siege of Badajoz, for which everything was nearly ready. Their hopes seem to rest in a great measure on the superiority of our cavalry and on the difficulty the French will find in getting provisions for so large a force as they must bring up for the relief of the place. Lord Wellington talks a very big language at his own table, no less than of driving the French beyond the Pyrenees before he has done with them.

"Suchet was known to have entered the town of Murcia early in February, when the Spanish General Carresa was killed in a skirmish. By this he seems to be approaching Andalusia. Whilst we are looking after Badajoz, may not a great effort be preparing against Cadiz? I don't know what naval force we have there or whether the Orient Squadron is strong enough to co-operate in such an attack, but this seems to me a possible case.

“The accounts from the manufacturing districts are worse and worse. I have seen my brother’s letters giving an account of the frame-breaking about Leeds, which, he says, is conducted with a degree of secrecy and arrangement that bespeaks a superior and concealed direction.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1812, April 7. Portman Square.—“Lord Donoughmore has just been here to tell me that the Catholic and Protestant petitions will not be here in time for Friday and that there is also a resolution of the Board in Dublin against presenting the petition to Parliament before the address has been received by the Prince Regent. Under these circumstances both Grattan and Lord Donoughmore think they have no choice as to putting off the motion, which must therefore be deferred either till Friday sen’night or till the Monday following. This is very disagreeable and very awkward, but I see no help for it.

“I hope this delay will not prevent your coming to town on Thursday, as we have much to talk of, and particularly the form of the motion. I think under all the circumstances the old motion for a committee the best, but if the objections of any of those persons who having formerly approved it are now inclined to vote with us, could be obviated by a mere alteration of form, one must of course feel desirous of accommodating them. Holland thinks that instead of moving to refer the petitions to a committee, a motion for a committee to consider of the state of the laws affecting the Catholics might relieve these difficulties. If so, I am sure I can see no possible reason for objecting to it. I have agreed with them to meet at your house at twelve on Saturday, if it is not inconvenient to you, to settle these matters.

“There is nothing new. The letters I have now from the army since the beginning of the siege speak more doubtfully than they did.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1812, April 10. Portman Square.—“You will have seen in the papers that the debate in our House is fixed for Monday the 21st, and in the House of Commons for the 23rd. I have seen Lord Donoughmore since I received your letter and he seems to think that there would be some danger of exciting the jealousy of the Catholics by inserting the addition which you suggested to the motion. I confess I think whatever is to be said about securities had better be confined to our speeches.

“I am sorry you are not coming to town to stay, though I do not wonder at your determination. I do not feel much disposition to activity myself and your absence will destroy what little there was, and after the debate on the Catholic question and the Orders in Council, which Lord Fitzwilliam

has given notice of his intention of bringing on the 28th, I shall be very willing to give myself holidays for the remainder of the Session. Stanhope's Bill, the East India Charter and the state of the finances are subjects which must either be pursued through a regular and systematic attendance or left to take their course.

"There is nothing new from Spain, nor, in the present state of the wind, can anything be expected. The accounts in the Spanish papers seem to indicate movements on the part of the French for relieving Badajoz.

"I wish you could send me the papers relating to the Princess. I agree with you that it would be improper for *us* to urge this attack, but I must think there is very good ground for persons who were not implicated as we were in any part of the proceedings for making it the subject of public discussion. The Princess is not and cannot be regarded a person in a private station. It was on the ground of her not being so that the King insisted on our advising him as to her reception at Court as a matter of state, on which he was called upon to do an act which must convey a public declaration of his opinion of her guilt or innocence. After we were turned out it is understood that a second investigation took place and she was publicly received at Court, which, from the construction put upon that act by the King himself, must be considered as a formal acquittal of the Princess, with the advice of the King's Ministers, from the charges brought against her. Perceval has now gone a great way in establishing this fact, and under these circumstances I cannot think that those, who on public grounds ask why she is deprived of the state belonging to her rank and situation, have not a good case.

"Wilberforce and William Smith have been with me this morning about a Bill to require the registration of slaves in the West Indies by their proprietors. This I believe to be very necessary to give full effect to the abolition, but I have some doubt about it as a measure of internal legislation for the Colonies. What do you say to it in that view?"

LORD GRENVILLE to EARL GREY.

1812, April 12. Stowe.—"I do not find that I have any copy of the Princess's defence which constitutes, as you know, the principal part of Perceval's famous book. A few Minutes of Cabinet on the subject that I have I will bring to town with me; but they will probably tell you nothing more than you already remember. My opinion continues to be very strong against the propriety of making the matter in any form a subject of Parliamentary discussion, and I should strongly advise you to keep it in your power to say not only that you have not originated nor advised the originating of such a discussion, but that you have done what you could to discourage it.

"There is another subject which I am very unwillingly

compelled to mention to you, but on which I am perfectly sure your feelings will accord with mine.

“Two years ago Mr. Creevey intimated in the House of Commons an intention of agitating some question respecting the Tellership of the Exchequer held by Lord Buckingham as the reward of my father’s services. Reasons of personal delicacy towards yourself, which I need not say more about, induced me to prefer explaining myself on that occasion to Lord Holland and Lord Lauderdale, but more particularly to the latter. I stated what I must naturally feel on the occasion of so invidious and personal an attack against my own brother, made by a person not only generally presumed to be a member of the party to which I belong, but who was actually in office with us in the last Government. I explained that this communication was not made with any view of altering Mr. Creevey’s conduct, a thing which it neither became Lord Buckingham nor myself to desire, and which I must clearly be understood not to have in view. But that it remained to be seen what conduct would be held on such an occasion by the other members of that party in the House of Commons and particularly by the three or four individuals who were looked up to then as most considerable for their abilities and rank in the party. That I had no right nor wish to desire any man to act against his own opinion. But that, on the other hand, I must as clearly say for myself that unless such a proceeding received their marked and public discountenance and disapprobation, my own line was clear before me. I could no longer remain in any manner connected with a party amongst whom I had so little consideration as to be unable to make to my own brother for a whole life of protection and kindness to which I owe everything, the poor return of defending him against their hostility; much less could I continue to be the channel of connecting him with his enemies and delivering him over to them, bound hand and foot, and deprived of all that respect and consideration which his birth, influence and power and, much more than these, his unblemished character and the virtues of his whole life would naturally ensure to him from any persons with whom he chose to connect himself.

“I added, though I trust it was unnecessary, that such an event, as it would not alter my political opinions, so neither would it change my public conduct. But that I should thenceforth pursue that conduct as an unconnected individual driven by necessity from the party to which I had attached myself, but wishing well to its general principles, and having therefore no desire to weaken it by the defection of others, though I must myself openly disclaim all connection with it.

“I am obliged to recapitulate all this to you, though I have no doubt that you were at the time fully apprized of it, and that you know also that both Lord Holland and Lord Lauderdale expressed themselves to me on the subject with

such feelings as I naturally expected from them—the feelings of honourable men impressed with a sense of the situation in which I was placed and of the necessities which it imposed upon me.

“Some time afterwards Lord Lauderdale informed me in confidence that the notice would not be followed up by any further proceeding, but desired me not to speak of this. I mentioned it only to Lord Buckingham himself, who was then just apprized of my resolutions on this subject and of the steps which I had taken in consequence. We had before that had no communication upon it.

“Now if I thus felt and acted two years ago, I leave it to you to judge what I must feel and how I am called upon to act now, when I see this same notice, without any fresh communication made to me, again publicly renewed, and when I consider the moment selected for it. To say more to you upon this last point would indeed be the greatest possible injustice to your character and feelings.

“To you therefore as my own friend, feeling, I am confident, warmly for my honour and character, not indifferent I trust to the steady and honourable conduct which you and your friends have experienced from a man of Lord Buckingham’s station and character, I must now commit this matter. I repeat, and must again desire that it may be distinctly understood that the purpose of this communication is not directed in any manner to influence Mr. Creevey’s conduct. With that I have no concern. But what I ask is that those with whom I am publicly connected shall, by their public conduct on this occasion, enable me to continue that connection without dishonour to myself and treachery to my brother.

“Do not think if I express myself, as I must do, warmly on such a subject that any part of my feelings can have any reference to anything said or done by you. If I am compelled by others to disconnect myself from our party I shall still hope to preserve your friendship as that which I most sincerely value, and I shall ever retain the highest regard for your manly and honourable character and a strong sense of your open, liberal and friendly conduct on every occasion.”

Postscript.—“I have written a few lines to Mr. Ponsonby to desire him to converse with you on this subject. I have no more doubt of his feelings upon it than of yours. I observe that the notice stands for Thursday, and it is therefore urgent in point of time that Lord Buckingham’s friends should know what they have to look to.” *Copy.*

EARL GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, April 15. Portman Square.—“Your letter of the 12th which I received on Monday last has, I confess, given me some pain, not from any feelings different from those which you might naturally wish and expect me to entertain on the subject to which it relates, but from perceiving the impression, much too strong I think, which this matter has made on your mind.

“ You must be aware that Creevey, though voting with the Opposition, has long ceased to pay any regard to their interests and opinions as a party, and is beyond the control of any individual belonging to it. Even Whitbread has no decided power or influence over him, nor had he received from him any previous communication of his intention to give the notice which you have seen respecting the Tellership of the Exchequer. It is, therefore, a motion originating quite independently of the Opposition or of any person connected with it, and there is not a single member of our party with whom I have had any conversation upon it who would not have prevented it if he could.

“ Of Creevey’s private views I can have no personal knowledge, as it is long since he has thrown off all personal connection with me, though it was to me that he was indebted for the place he held under our Administration. But from all I have heard I do not believe that he is influenced by any wish to make a personal attack on Lord Buckingham, or that such is his object. He has upon various occasions urged the necessity of regulating the offices of Lord Arden and Lord Buckinghamshire as well as the Tellerships, and in taking the latter as the objects of his present motion it is, as I apprehend, only as to the amount of the emoluments derived from them, and not as to any alleged impropriety in the original grant ; still less as founded on any imputation personally hostile to the possessors of them, that he wishes the case to be considered.

“ Now, though for these reasons I think you ought not to consider this in the nature of a personal attack, and consequently that you should not feel it so seriously, do not imagine that I do not strongly disapprove of the agitation of the question or that I would not, if I were in a situation to do so, personally give it the most unequivocal and decided opposition. This I hope will be done, if ultimately it should be brought forward, by George Ponsonby and the persons to whom you allude. But you must feel that their opposition must rest on the principle that these places are a vested property, with which you cannot interfere without shaking the security on which all property stands ; otherwise no one can deny that they so far exceed in their profits whatever could have been contemplated as an adequate reward for the services for which they were granted as to be fit subjects for retrenchment and regulation.

“ But though I and others are strongly impressed with the soundness of this principle, it has obtained by no means an universal assent. Many of our friends doubt of its application to this case, and some are pledged to a directly contrary opinion. Even Lord Spenser, two or three years ago, declined signing one of the reasons, resting on this principle, in a protest which I entered on the subject of the Reversion Bill, because he could not admit that we were precluded from regulating offices of this description ; and Piggott, as you must know,

in one of the reports of the Commissioners of Public Accounts drawn by him, has maintained both the right and the propriety of doing so.

“Under these circumstances, and at a time like the present, the inevitable consequence of a discussion upon this subject would be that many of our friends who are, and I am sure sincerely, attached to you, who feel all that they ought to feel on account of the steady, honourable and powerful support of Lord Buckingham, and who would therefore be most unwilling to do anything personally disagreeable either to you or to him, would find themselves compelled to vote in favour of the question. I thought, therefore, that the best way would be, if possible, to prevent its being brought forward, not by stating, which you very properly precluded me from doing, any desire on the part either of yourself or Lord Buckingham to that effect, but by representing to Creevey, through those who can best speak to him on such subjects, how injurious to his own views in opposing the present Ministers such a proceeding must be at this moment.

“This endeavour, made through Whitbread and Brougham, has been so far successful that the motion will be put off, and I hope not to be revived. This I should have attempted equally if I had not heard from you, and I am sure you cannot distrust my feelings and wishes on such an occasion. But if ultimately the motion should be made, notwithstanding all my endeavours to prevent it, all I can say is that any further efforts shall not be wanting to produce a direct opposition to it from the most powerful of our friends in the House of Commons. But if I should not succeed in this to the extent of my wishes, I most earnestly hope that when reconsidering both the nature of the question and the circumstances under which it will be brought forward, you will no longer think those of the party who may vote for it as disposed to withhold either from you or Lord Buckingham the personal consideration which is due to you both, or that your honour can require you to take the step of withdrawing yourself from the party, which I should lament so much more than any other thing that can now happen to us in politics.

“I know nothing in addition to what you will see in the *Gazette* and papers respecting either the siege of Badajoz or the expected war in the North; in the last I cannot yet believe.”

LORD GRENVILLE TO EARL GREY.

1812, April 16. Stowe.—“I am much obliged to you for the personal kindness which you express towards Lord B[uckingham] and myself, and which has been manifested in the trouble you have given yourself on this occasion. As the matter seems for the present suspended, I should be very sorry to prolong a discussion which, if it be in any manner painful to you, must, you will readily suppose, be more so to

me. Let me only assure you that I have not exaggerated to you my own impressions. They are stronger than I have stated them to you. In writing to you I was unwilling to say all that I felt, lest it should appear that what I did feel could apply to your dispositions or conduct, of neither of which I entertained the smallest doubt.

“My decision was not hastily formed. Nor was it in any manner the effect of that irritation which has naturally been produced by the peculiar moment selected for this step. I took my resolution two years ago on very cool and deliberate reflection with myself. I advised with no one upon it, thinking it one of those cases which a man must decide for himself. If anything could make me doubt its propriety it would be the finding that you disapprove of it ; but my judgment both on the point of honour and of duty is too deeply rooted to be now shaken even by your opinion.

“What you say of the impressions prevalent in the minds of others, and of the conduct to which they may probably lead whenever this matter is revived, serves only as an additional proof to convince me how very little fitted I am for public life in the times on which we are unhappily cast.

“I shall be in town Sunday evening and I rejoice to find that there is so good a prospect of division in both Houses on the Catholic question. Its postponement has given our opponents in Oxford the means of carrying a petition there, which we might otherwise have avoided. I have determined to present it unless I am prevented by some doubts in point of the form in which it is carried there, on which however I have no desire to lay more stress than I may find really belong to them. I hope the appearance of this one petition against us will be counteracted by the numerous petitions on the other side.” *Copy.*

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, April 18. Hertford Street.—“I dine out much too often and then abandon Lady Auckland and Mary to their career of balls and assemblies, and I shall joyfully hail the day of our return to a better system of moral and physical existence.

“I have seen many of our Parliamentary friends ; they are all cordially steady, but certainly they are not all equally right-headed. Some of them make speeches and give votes in support of propositions neither wise nor becoming, and such as would embarrass any new Government if, in despite of actual probabilities, any change should soon take place. Your supervision for two or three weeks would essentially contribute to the forming and maintaining a better course of things, but I can easily understand that you will prefer the enjoyments of the spring season at Dropmore.

“The deputies from Birmingham obliged me to hold a long conference with them this morning, and certainly they

make a good case against the Orders in Council and their evidence, if it could be brought to our Bar, would be irresistible. They are solicitous to wait on you and I told them that the access would be easy, as soon as the Irish question shall be disposed of. They requested me to forward the enclosed card that you may appoint them when you like best.

"Lady Auckland and I learnt to-day at your door that Lady Grenville and you arrive to-morrow.

"On Monday at 11 I am appointed at the Speaker's for the annual account of the Westminster improvements."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LADY GRENVILLE.

1812, April 24. Stowe.—"Many thanks to you for your very satisfactory account of the proceedings of the House of Lords, which seem to have been more favourable than one could have expected, and I have the additional pleasure of hearing from other correspondents that both in presenting the Oxford petition and in the debate on Lord Donoughmore's motion my brother was everything that could be wished. The division will do all that can be done by numbers against a majority, and I rejoice to see that my brother endeavoured to shew them that it was not the Catholic question that they were discussing, but that of the propriety and justice of entertaining the petition of the people of Ireland by their own Parliament. I do really think that this view of the subject, obvious as it is, has not till now been made sufficiently prominent, and I am therefore well pleased to see how strongly it was insisted upon by my brother; these divisions and renewed agitations of the question do certainly make a progress which will ultimately be successful, but the doubt is whether that success shall take effect before the country has crumbled to pieces; and the internal state of distress and riot gains so fast upon us that it must daily be a question how much longer we can afford to wait without the whole machine of government failing in the hands in which it is now placed.

"For the next fortnight the country will live upon the capture of Badajos and the good people of England will be taught to believe that their glories and their victories would all have been lost to them if the old lady in Manchester Square had not stepped between the Regent and the Prince's predilections, but then will come the Luddites and the Threshers and high price of bread and few potatoes and no money and no quiet, and then again John Bull will suspect all is not quite as it should be. In this state it seems to me more than ever necessary to watch the very violent reformers, because, as many of them have no other principle than that of courting popularity, they will court it in violent times by heading the violences of the times. I am, therefore, very glad that my brother urges to Grey and to Ponsonby the absolute necessity of temperate and gradual reform, not because I believe that my brother's opinions or Grey's or

Ponsonby's will weigh at all with Whitbread or Creevy or Ossulston or any such, but because it seems due to the characters of the leaders of Opposition to shew that degree of judgment and discretion which the fever of the times demands, and this is a duty in my opinion peculiarly pressing upon Lord Grenville, both because all his own immediate friends and followers as well as his own public conduct and sentiments have hitherto been seen rather to discourage than to excite these questions of reform. It may become an obligation of prudence not to stand too absolutely against that impatience for change and reform which is the natural consequence of public and individual distress, but I am so much persuaded that many of those who call themselves of our party will be for running the whole race of popularity that I think our friends are more than ever called upon to bear a watchful eye upon all that is connected with these very dangerous and difficult questions. As to the possibility of our friends obtaining the advantage of popular opinion by giving way to moderated reform, nothing in my mind can be more hopeless than that expectation, and the City debates which give the tone in the country upon these points shew pretty plainly that in popular meetings and discussions it is expected that '*The Talents*' should be very near as much reprobated as the present very respectable Ministers; and as this shews plainly that we can none of us expect to have any influence with these leaders of reform, it is a reason the more for our taking care that we are not led by them.

"I have a very uncomfortable account of Lady Williams from Temple, who strongly urges the necessity of her changing the scene, as she complains of solitude and low spirits. I cannot tell you how anxious and uneasy this makes me. If with all her sisters and children and family and friends actually in her room and house she still complains of solitude, where can one hope, poor soul, that she can find what can give her any additional comfort? Do see Lady Carysfort and talk with her, and see what can be done, for Temple's letter makes me quite uneasy."

THE SAME to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, May 3. Stowe.—"On the morning that I received your letter the North York, in all the haste that could be hurried by 40 waggons, was passing along the park in the way to Leicester and Manchester, and Lord B. has been able to ascertain seven militia regiments that are gone there with 15th Light Dragoons and two other regulars, so that there can be no doubt of providing for Maitland's orders the 7,000 men of whom he writes to his brother. What a fearful moment this would become if, under such circumstances, any French force could be thrown into Ireland at a moment when we have scarcely military means enough to provide against the dangers of our English manufacturers at home. I have always thought

and still think the present Ministers highly culpable and responsible for the sleepy neglect in which they suffered the Nottingham riots to form and frame themselves into a regular and disciplined force; the Government are now complaining of the regular communications and combined system under which the rioters in the different counties are acting in concert, and yet it is obvious enough that this systematic plan of riot has grown out of the shameful inattention of the Ministers who looked on upon the Nottingham riots for three months together with no other interference on their part than by Ryder's stupid letters to the Duke of Newcastle and the ingenious device of sending two Bow Street Justices and constables to his assistance. If in times of real distress the poor people and the ill-disposed people find that they can make their own laws and their own divisions of property by tumultuous and armed riots, undoubtedly that will soon spread into a very general and very intelligible system; but I have never understood why Ministers have not been challenged with this great neglect of duty, and still less why Whitbread thought fit to praise them upon one of those points on which they seem to me to be the most deserving of censure.

"As for Perceval's negotiation with the Irish bishops for securities, I feel entirely persuaded that he communicates with them, not for the purpose of modifying or of overcoming their difficulties, but for the more uncandid purpose of learning their objections and scruples in order to arm himself and his High Church against them by quoting from their own mouths what he will state to be their insuperable difficulties; and, bigotted and controversial as the mouths are, both of the bishops and of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, I cannot look for any useful result or any temperate arrangement out of such a collision; and though Perceval stated it as an *ex absurdo* argument to impute the violences or absurdities of the Catholic bishops to the circumstance of his being the Minister, I do in my conscience believe that imputation to be true and just to a very great degree, and I am persuaded that the more those two parties communicate the more will the difference between them be widened and inflamed.

"I have just been reading with some satisfaction the good division upon the barracks, and with no little dissatisfaction have observed the silence of Ponsonby, Whitbread and Tierney upon the abominable and wicked speech of Sir Francis Burdett. Surely when such doctrines are delivered by any man who votes with you, our friends should take better care to make a public and formal disclaimer of them, and yet, if the newspapers are correct, no one man in opposition said a word of disclaimer except Mr. Barham. Are they afraid of being mobbed, or are they afraid of offending Sir Francis, Mr. Creevey and the rest of that amiable and patriotic party?

"I do not understand this very active correspondence of flags of truce, but I do not derive any good expectation from

it. Surely the French Government cannot desire any change in the actual position of this country, which seems to be so very nearly what they would most wish it to be.

"My brother had been languid by the confinement arising from the cold and bad weather, but he now goes out again and is very tolerably well. I have written to Temple to say that I shall go to town about the 12th, which is near the time of the yeomanry who meet here on the 16th. If you see Bulkeley or Lord Braybrooke and find them disposed to come down they could not do better; there is nobody here but Shipley, O'Connor and the Arundels, which last go to Lillies on Tuesday till Thursday, and then return here to proceed to town for good on Sunday, 10th."

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, May 8. Hertford Street.—"There are despatches from Lord Wellington, dated, I believe, the 20th. The contents have not yet transpired with any correctness. It is said that the stories about Bellastreros being in possession of Seville and of the attacks on Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida are not confirmed, and Lord Grey tells me he has heard that Marmont is plundering towns to the northward and that Lord Wellington was moving with a large corps in that direction, leaving a corps sufficient to keep Soult in check. There had been some affair between some of our cavalry and the French cavalry, but nothing material.

"I have been for an hour both days to the examination of the witnesses; they are making a strong case.

"It is much said and suspected that Mr. Canning's notice is sanctioned by the *conciliabulum* of Carleton House and is a case of 'Prince *versus* Perceval.' By the bye, I see possible doubt whether that motion should be considered as favourable to the ultimate success of the Catholic question."

EARL GREY to THE SAME.

1812, May 8. Portman Square.—"I hope the manner in which Creevey's motion was resisted by George Ponsonby and Tierney will have been satisfactory to you. I did all I could with Whitbread and can only express my deep regret at its want of success.

"I know from undoubted authority what was brought by the flag of truce, but you must not repeat it to *anybody*. It was a proposal for peace; the terms offered were England to keep all the colonies in her possession at the opening of the negotiation.

"Portugal to be restored to the House of Braganza.

"Spain to be confirmed to the *King of Spain*; Naples to the *King of Naples*; Sicily to the *King of Sicily*. The answer I have not heard; I should be very much inclined to say 'Done.'

“Canning’s motion I have strong reasons for believing to be the result of an enterprise with Carlton House, which is intended to turn out Perceval. In the manner in which he appears to have announced it I should feel strong objections to it. It seems to be to address the Executive Government to become the initiative of a Legislative proceeding. It might however, I think, be put in a form in which we might support it, as, for instance, to address the Crown to direct the Irish Government to procure and transmit such information respecting the state of the Catholics in Ireland and their connection with and dependence on the See of Rome, as might enable Parliament to proceed without delay at the opening of the next Session to the consideration of measures for their relief, combined with such arrangements as might be required for the security of the Church. Pray let me have your opinion on this. I have written this in extreme haste to secure the post.

“The news from Portugal you will see in the papers. It is just enough to show that all this immense expense of blood and treasure is fruitless. The loss at Badajoz was greater than was stated in the *Gazette*.

“Wellesley has repeated his conversation on St. George’s Day to Lord Donoughmore, and I believe to some others, with some little variations from your account of it. I believe he has seen the Prince since.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, May 10. Stowe.—“It will not be of the smallest inconvenience to me to make Thursday instead of Tuesday the day of my going to London, so that I shall with great pleasure stay for you here and not go to town till Thursday. Lord Braybrooke came here the day before yesterday and found my brother looking better and more cheerful than he expected. When Mary went to him after dinner she found him quite low and hysterical, and he continued so till he went to bed, not being in spirits enough to see Doctor Hodgson and Miss McNamara, who were just arrived. His servant thinks this arose from his poring over some papers after his solitary dinner, which I now think a great evil, as more constant society would prevent the indulgence of these gloomy depressions. Upon the whole, however, he is better, poor fellow, than I expected; and I suppose it is in human nature to cherish occasionally these painful and hurtful absorptions of the mind, because I see scarcely anybody that does not, on these melancholy occasions, sometimes fight against themselves and resist in some degree the salutary and providential relief which is almost imperceptibly supplied to their comfort and assistance. I think him, however, very well in health, which I attribute chiefly to his being out so much in the air, as he generally passes the whole time between half-past twelve and five in riding or little chaising or walking and sitting.

“Lord Bulkeley comes here to-morrow, and I have a letter to-day to propose Lord Glastonbury and the General for the 18th. The Arundels go to town for six weeks to-morrow and Lord Temple and Fremantle arrive on the 16th. I have no doubt that Temple will be refreshed by his three weeks’ absence : his health is easily affected by whatever affects his mind, and is easily assisted by whatever amuses it, which his boy’s recovery and his Avington trout-river will most powerfully assist.

“Ponsonby and Tierney seem to have done very fairly in the Teller’s debate and so, no doubt, has Grey ; but Whitbread, as I had suspected, could not abandon his favourite pursuit of popularity, and he will be found upon all such occasions with such growing numbers as the pressure of the times and the fear of resisting popular clamour will supply. You know my jealousy upon this subject ; I do not easily consent to see the head governed by the heels.”

EARL GREY to THE SAME.

1812, May 11. House of Lords.—“I have nothing to add to the accounts you will see in the public prints of this terrible assassination. The man I believe certainly has been mad, though there is nothing in his present demeanour or conduct, further than the act itself, which argues insanity. And it is, I think, quite certain that it was an act of private resentment and quite unconnected with any of the mischief now prevailing in the country. We have just had a message from the Prince and voted an address for a provision for Perceval’s family. It was impossible to dissent from such a proposal, though I think it would have been better to have taken a little more time upon it, and I found it necessary in stating my concurrence to guard myself against any supposed acquiescence in our approbation of his services, which perhaps some of the words of the address might appear to imply.

“Did you get a letter from me by Friday’s post ? I had hoped to receive an answer to it.

“Nothing is known as to the new arrangements which may be in contemplation, and it is not worth while, even if I had time, to give you loose conjectures on the subject.”

LORD GRENVILLE to THOMAS GRENVILLE.

1812, May 12. Dropmore.—“The enclosed copy of my letter to Grey will shew to you and to my brother my reason for remaining here till Friday morning. I hope you will both think that I could do no less, after his conduct and that of his immediate friends, than make to him the offer of returning to town, though I trust and hope he will not accept it.

“This was the more necessary when it became my duty, in consequence of the resolution I had long formed, and had announced to him beforehand in my letter from Stowe, to

declare to him that I consider myself as released by Whitbread's conduct from all further political connection with *him*.

"If Wellesley and Canning form (as I expect) a Government on the principle of Catholic emancipation, and if Huskisson succeeds in convincing them of the necessity of terminating the Spanish crusade, and resuming cash payments, and unlicensed and unrestricted trade, although even then I should not bring myself to join such a Government separately from Grey, yet I shall not easily induce myself to assist in keeping up an opposition to it, and I shall therefore more than ever cling to my quiet retirement here. I hope you will both approve these tendencies to opinion on the new state of things. No fixed opinion I should of course take in any of these matters without profiting by your advice and his, except on the one point which I had already long ago decided, and on which I have, as you will see, already acted, that of separating myself at once from all who shew themselves his enemies. God bless you both." *Copy*.

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, May 12. Stowe.—"Your letter reached me soon after we had dined, and while we were still employed in speculating upon the strange and bloody tragedy which the morning post had brought to us from London. My brother is very sensible to the affection which has so strongly influenced your answer to Grey in reference to Whitbread, and you know how entirely my opinions agree with those expressions in your letter which so formally renounce a community of political conduct and interest with Whitbread and with his present declared associates. I lament to count Lord Tavistock in that list, and certainly regret very much that Whitbread should have had influence enough to have placed him in those ranks, but whatever is the danger of his being there will be better resisted by dissenting from him than by a weak and ineffectual endeavour to restrain him by keeping him company. Whatever may be the tempting aspect of moderation, which seems to recommend the practice of giving way to the storm in order to lead and control it, experience always shews that these moderated efforts end in nothing short of a complete and entire submission to the most violent and the most unruly. Most heartily do I rejoice that you have taken this opportunity of speaking so plainly, and of asserting for yourself that lead and control without which you can neither do justice to your own opinions nor to the reliance which so many persons are disposed to place on your political sentiments and conduct as long as you keep them within the fair exercise of your own individual discretion. The strange and helpless state in which the Regent himself and all the ministerial ranks are placed by the death of Perceval, the strong impression which you yourself describe of public danger and the picture which

is traced to me by other pens of the general terror and dismay, all seem to me to be additional motives of great weight for keeping your conduct and opinions more strictly in your own hands and less subjected to others than perhaps may have been wise and proper under different circumstances. I incline to think with you that the Prince will recur to Lord Wellesley and Canning because he will see no other escape from you and from Lord Grey. This persuasion of his recurring to them is my only comfort, for I cannot teach myself to believe that the time is yet come in which you and Lord Grey can find yourselves possessed of means enough to enable you to meet the desperate difficulties that you would have to contend with in Government. You would not yet find the Regent sufficiently persuaded of the necessity of giving the Government to responsible Ministers, nor would you yet find the country sufficiently alive to its dangers to look to one set of Ministers rather than another and to give that confidence and favourable opinion out of which alone the strength of Government can in these times be made adequate to its dangers and difficulties. It is possible that Wellesley and Canning may endeavour simply to succeed to Perceval at the head of the present Government which they are pleased to call the old Pittites, but with all that I hear of the universal dismay of all parties, even before the death of Perceval, I think it by no means improbable that even the present Government should furnish a great many impatient clamours for a Government much less exclusive than that of Wellesley and Canning, and I confess I have some fears that the Prince Regent will be prevailed upon by his own apprehensions and by the echo of all those of his subjects to get back to some general propositions for extended Governments the discussion of which would create great embarrassment without leading to any beneficial practical results. These embarrassments would be very much increased by the necessity of deferring to the public opinions and public fears and by the impossibility of cutting those questions as short as might be done in moments of less acknowledged peril, but the result could not be useful, because although the public danger might seem to prescribe any arbitrary combination of public men into a frame of government, the public danger could not create in them that reciprocal confidence and good opinion which is necessary to make a powerful and effective Government.

“I continue therefore in the unshaken opinion that the time is not now come at which you can do your sufficient duty in Government, and am very much gratified in seeing by your letter how strongly your own mind inclines to the same view of the subject.

“I find my brother very much concurring in these opinions as far as we have been able to talk them over in the first hurry of this extraordinary intelligence. We have agreed to wait till to-morrow’s post comes in before we send this answer

to your letter, and we will add anything if anything remains to be added to-morrow morning."

11 *at night*.—"My brother seems persuaded by the course of the narrative in the press of this day just arrived, and by the part taken by Lord Grey in the Lords, that he will have urged you to come up to town; we therefore send this by the coach to Camelford House, which will leave it there at one o'clock on Wednesday, to-morrow morning. If you are in town pray write a line. I still think it probable that I may be in town on Thursday, though not certain."

LORD AUCKLAND TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, May 12. Hertford Street.—"The House of Lords met to-day at two, and after prayers adjourned till five, when a message is to be delivered from the Prince to recommend a provision for Mrs. Perceval, and for the children; after which it will be proposed and understood to adjourn, from day to day and not to do business till to-morrow sennight, and the same in the House of Commons.

"It is not the general creed, but I have reason to believe since I wrote to you this morning that there has not *yet* been any communication between the Prince and Lord Wellesley or Canning; I mean in the course of the last fortnight."

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1812, [May 12]. Camelford House.—"This strange and shocking event is a sad calamity in private life, and possibly in its consequences may add materially to the public embarrassments and distresses. It is most unfortunate that at so critical a conjuncture for the empire you should be at 26 miles distance, although as yet it is uncertain whether your presence here could do good; still there would be the possible means. I have some reasons for thinking that the remaining Ministers (with the exception perhaps of Lord Castlereagh) consider their situation as desperate, and that the Prince, under the advice of the Duke of York, is not unlikely to bring his mind to a *carte blanche* to be offered to you and to Lord Grey, in which event (and it is material for you to meditate on the possibility) if a sense of public duty should drive you to accept the forlorn hope, you would of course be more anxious than the Prince himself could be, to give the most decorous turn to what might be done, and to preserve to him as much remnant and appearance of becoming character as may be possible. I had a long conversation with Lord Grey this morning, who sees everything with a desponding eye, but looks to you with warm and cordial attachment; by the bye, he expressed surprise and uneasiness that he had not heard from you in answer to his letter on Canning's motion.

“I will dismiss this great subject by a repetition of my wish that you were here, and I hope that you will receive this in time to write a line by to-night’s post.

“I have had a private communication of letters from Portugal, by which it appears that Lord Wellington has neither men, nor money, nor provisions, nor forage for any active operation. In short, that game is up.

“The letters from the north of to-day mention more outrages and two or three murders.

“It is meant, I believe, to postpone all public business and to proceed only with ordinary bills, and perhaps with the examination of the witnesses on the Orders in Council.

“Bedingfield [*rectius* Bellingham] is to be tried on Friday at the latest.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1812, May 12.]—“This day’s bulletin will be very short ; it has rained incessantly and I have not happened to see anybody except George Eden and Mr. Bankes and Lord Glenbervie.

“I know, in truth, nothing more than I knew yesterday, but soon after writing to you I was told by a person who has access to Carleton House that he should not be surprised if the gap made by poor Mr. Perceval’s death should ‘somehow or somehow’ be filled *pro tempore*, and that it was the language of Carleton House that it would be dangerous to let it appear that murder could change a Ministry. What wretched nonsense ! It is also the language there (of the Prince himself) that he has personally much less occasion to complain of you than of Lord Grey. He still incessantly repeats that he has been scandalously treated. We shall probably know more to-morrow.

“It is meant, I believe, to give 2,000*l.* a year to Mrs. Perceval and 50,000*l.* to the children. She is calm and better than was expected.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1812, [May 14]. Hertford Street.—“I know as little to-day as I did yesterday ; I passed nearly two hours this morning with the Speaker (a chief part of the time on Westminster businesses). I collected in general from him that he thinks as ill as we do of the public prospects and that he is absolutely decided not to lend himself in any manner to the miserable and shifting arrangements which make the conversation of the day. I have since seen Lord Carysfort and your brother, Mr. T. Grenville, and others. The prevalent report of the morning is that ‘Lord Castlereagh will undertake the conduct of the House of Commons’ in his present office, with some peer as First Lord of the Treasury and Mr. Vansittart or Mr. Long as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Vansittart dined alone with me yesterday and all his conversation was foreign to

such an idea. In truth, I think a Ministry so formed would be torn to tatters in the first debate. But nothing, however extravagantly weak and absurd it may be, will surprise me. The Speaker feels with pain that the House of Commons is running quite wild, and said to me without reserve that nothing could be more disgusting and absurd, or more injurious to Mr. Pereeval's memory, than the forced discussions of last night; and there is reason to apprehend that the same wild people are disposed to move, and perhaps able to carry a vote for a public funeral, a monument [and other honours]. The Ministers are to go into mourning, and Lady Hertford to-day has put off her assembly which was to have taken place to-morrow. These exaggerations of grief are treachery on the part of those who employ them and will wear away in a week; in the meantime the public embarrassments gain strength."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, May 14. Cleveland Square.—"I have just called at your house and find that you are not expected, so that I conclude that Grey has not pressed you, and am quite as well satisfied that you should not be seen in London while they are all gaping here to know who is to be Minister. The only politician that I have seen tells me that it is found impracticable for Canning to act with Castlereagh, and that as the choice must be made between these two, the predilections will turn in favour of Castlereagh, who professes to be ready to undertake it !!!

"Fremantle quotes Mundy of Nottinghamshire for saying that they made the most open rejoicings at Nottingham for the murder of Pereeval. What horrible monsters!

"I am glad in the little that I hear, to hear that there is no question of messages to you and Grey, and I conclude he agrees to your going to Stowe. Pray let me hear from you. God bless you.

"There is a report afloat of Knowsley being burnt by the mob, but it is not believed.

"Lord Stamford, Lord Derby and Lord Fitzwilliam have gone to their counties by the desire of Government.

"Lord Uxbridge said to Lord Stafford, 'If you will put the country in *our hands* (meaning the military) we will save you and will not abuse the power.' It is certain that the Chancellor and the friends of Government are trying to make the greatest alarm, and I think it probable that Lord Uxbridge's phrase may perhaps come from the office of the Horse Guards."

EARL GREY to THE SAME.

1812, May 15. Portman Square.—"Nothing more is known, but I hear that the Ministers are much embarrassed by the difficulties of their situation, and talk despondingly of the possibility of going on. They were to have a Cabinet

yesterday night at 10 o'clock, when I suppose they would finally determine whether they can venture to undertake the Government or not. If they should strike, I think Wellesley will probably be sent for, and if he is, I have no doubt that he will recommend making a proposition to us. Indeed, it seems impossible for him to form an Administration without joining us or detaching from us a considerable portion of our friends upon our rejection of a proposal which they may think ought to have been accepted. And this will be our difficulty. I have no idea that the thing will be presented to us in such a way as to make it possible for us ultimately to accept it. If we get into a negotiation we can hardly hope to avoid involving ourselves in considerable embarrassment, and if we peremptorily reject a proposition made upon the ground of conceding the Catholic question, I am afraid most of our friends would think us in the wrong. Yet this is the course to which I most incline, and the very fact of the Prince's selecting another person to form an Administration, after what has passed with us, is such a mark of his want of confidence, or rather of his dislike, that I think we should be justified in professing a readiness to support an Administration that should be formed on principles that we can approve, but in declining to take any part in it ourselves.

"When I say that Wellesley and Canning cannot form an Administration without us or our friends, perhaps I calculate more upon what would be my own feelings in their situation or in that of the present Ministers than I have any right to do in considering what may be theirs. But it seems as impossible as anything in politics can be for Canning to unite either with Castlereagh or Addington, and pledged as both Wellesley and Canning now are to the Catholic question, it is not easy to imagine how either can join in the same Government with the Chancellor and Lord Liverpool.

"Of the negotiation of which I informed you I have heard no more, and as Buonaparte has, I believe, certainly left Paris I conclude that nothing is likely to come of it. Though what I told you was communicated to me under strong injunctions of secrecy, I find others have had the information from the same quarter, and I have no doubt that it will soon be generally known, if it is not so already.

"You will see how foolishly the House of Commons is going on with respect to this grant to Perceval's family. I really dread the effect upon the public at this moment. Amongst all the lower order of people the expression of satisfaction at his death is almost universal. The spirit which this is supposed to indicate, and which really proceeds from extreme distress, the Government, and above all the Princes, talk only of putting down by force. As a proof of their determination I am afraid London is to be filled with troops, and Bellingham, if he is convicted, of which I do not imagine there can be any doubt, is to be carried from Newgate to Palace Yard for execution

on Monday next. I thought it right to state strongly my feeling of the imprudence of such a proceeding, to give it no harsher name, both to the Chancellor and Lord Ellenborough last night in the House of Lords. The former seemed to be, as you will readily believe, full of doubt and apprehension about it. The latter was quite violent, said he should recommend it strongly, and indeed was in so heated a state of mind as is quite frightful in a man in his situation. For his own sake, as I have a sincere regard for him, I rejoice that he is not to try Bellingham.

"I am going to the House of Lords, as we are continuing the examinations on the Orders in Council, and if I hear anything more before the post goes out I will write another line."

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, May [15]. Hertford Street.—"I am going to the House of Lords to sacrifice a couple of hours to the examination of the petitioners against the Orders in Council; I understand that they have established a strong and unanswerable case. I have just heard that the trial is going forwards at the Old Bailey. The Chief Justice Mansfield presides. The prisoner tendered a sort of plea of insanity to obtain time; this was over-ruled. He then said that he would plead guilty, but afterwards consented to plead not guilty. He appeared perfectly calm and collected. There is little doubt that he will be convicted. There has been a disposition to proceed to his immediate execution, or if it should be postponed till to-morrow or Monday to have it in Palace Yard. I see little use, and possibly mischief, in such a course, and think it more probable that the execution will be in the ordinary course at the Old Bailey.

"I have seen Lord Grey and Lord Holland this morning; they have not any information or surmise respecting the Prince's intentions, but it still seems probable that an attempt will be made to go on without any change either of men or measures, and that Lord Liverpool and Lord Castlereagh will lend themselves to so desperate an enterprise.

"But a general opinion begins to be prevalent that the whole must at last be thrown on you and on Lord Grey. I see no probable result that will not be *very bad*.

"There is to be some motion to-day for a monument!!"

Private. THE SAME to THE SAME.

1812, May 16. Hertford Street.—"I dined yesterday at Lord Buckinghamshire's; at half-past eight he went to a Cabinet at Lord Castlereagh's and stayed there till half-past twelve, and he is detained in town for another meeting this evening. It is pretty evident that they are deliberating on the statement to be offered to the Prince as to the practicability of going forwards with the businesses of the Session. Mr.

Vansittart came home with me and sat till eleven. I did not think it fair or indeed material to question him, but he talked voluntarily and without reserve on the possibility of his being the new Chancellor of the Exchequer and seemed to devote himself implicitly to such an appointment if his friends should require it. And I could not collect that any other accession is expected or in contemplation.

"This morning at 10 Mr. E. Cooke (with whom I have not conversed except occasionally at a dinner table) called on me and got admittance. It was soon evident that he came with views beyond the interchange of civility. He lamented the state of things, admitted the public difficulties and the public perils, and led himself at last to advert to the 'misunderstanding' of the Prince's letter. He said that nothing would be so easy as to explain that misunderstanding. He trusted that you and Lord Grey would feel the expediency and public duty of settling a 'Government on an extended basis; without such a Government he was sure that no arrangement could be made which could last six months.' My answers to these and other insinuations were short and went merely to impress the opinion that in the actual and accumulating difficulties no individual of ordinary sense or feeling could wish to stand forwards, and that the personage most interested in situation and in duty ought not to make any offer, unless he was prepared to make it implicitly and unconditionally and with a disposition to cultivate and preserve the fullest and most honourable confidence. I never quitted those general phrases. The conversation was a little varied by talking about the abilities of leading individuals in the two Houses, and in that part of the discussion he seemed to be blind to many of the disadvantages to which Lord Castlereagh will find himself subjected in the part which he is preparing to play. At last he went away, repeating to me the following phrase, which I minuted with my pencil: 'If you will make a moderate intimation in the right quarter, it may all be settled.'

"It is to me most clear that no intimation should be made anywhere, and though the experiment is dangerous to the public interests, which are sinking every hour from bad to worse, I am fully convinced that it will be desirable to await the result. And Lord Grey, whom I have seen, agrees with us entirely in that opinion.

"Much more passed in that conversation incidentally in allusions to other subjects. It was intimated that the late offer from Buonaparte was of a nature quite impossible to be listened to, and I conceive that it was more offensive than what Lord Grey seems to suppose it to have been. The Ministers have some secret information that the measures pointed toward Russia are meant eventually to produce the conquest of Constantinople to France. That idea looks wild, but possibly may have some foundation in despite of distances and difficulties.

“The supposed offer from France is probably known to you ; it is said to have been an offer to treat on the basis of our holding all our conquests and of giving up Spain and Sicily. The House of Braganza to be re-established in Portugal, but I believe that there were other points.

“I privately understand that the Budget was intended to tax the private breweries, leather and glass. Those taxes would have failed and will fail if proposed. I have been interrupted till I had only 15 minutes left for these five pages.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, May 17. Cleveland Square.—“I have just seen Lord Grey, who desires me to tell you that he knows nothing to-day except what he has heard from Lord Auekland, who writes to you by this post. Grey will write to you on Monday, and hopes that he may be able to tell you of their having fixed on something or other for a Government. He believes them to be more afraid than they were of undertaking the Government with Castlereagh only in the House of Commons ; he thinks it therefore probable that the Prince will have recourse to Lord Wellesley and will authorise him to make overtures to you and to Lord Grey, and I was very glad to hear Grey add that the inclination of his mind was to think that in such a case the wise and proper answer would be to decline making part of any such Government, but to express a hope that you should find yourselves enabled to co-operate with the new Government, if their measures, particularly with respect to Ireland, were such as could justify any such co-operation. I find him also, very much to my satisfaction, disposed to concur in the opinion that this is not yet the moment in which you may fairly expect such a support from the Regent or from the country as would give a fair chance of enabling you to meet the real difficulties of public affairs. This is so strongly my opinion that I am well satisfied to find his sentiments so much the same as my own. I found from something he accidentally dropped that he has not seen Whitbread since the question of Creevey’s motion, so that there is evidently little or no communication between them. He says the accounts from the country are very bad, and he has seen the military paper at the Horse Guards which shews that 13,000 men are the extent of what could be collected round London. I thought they would have wanted them all, for *till* last night it had been intended to execute Bellingham in *Palace Yard*, but Lord Camden has just said at Lady Stafford’s that it is determined to hang him at the usual place.

“The whole circle of Princes and all their *entours* are talking only of martial law and of *saving the country by the military*.”

Postscript.—“I see Grey has some indistinct suspicion that Burdett and Company are watching their opportunity in London. He twice repeated that B[urdett] affected unusual moderation, which he G[rey] much mistrusts.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1812, May 18. Cleveland Square.—“Most heartily do I rejoice on your account to have to tell you that the many embarrassments which you so naturally feared might be reserved for you are all cleared away and that an arrangement is finally made; so at least is the account which I hear from everybody whom I have seen to-day. Wellesley and Canning have joined Liverpool and Sidmouth and Castlereagh has resigned; the first account I heard was that Wellesley was First Lord, Huskisson Chancellor, and Canning Secretary of State with Liverpool; but latterly I am assured that Liverpool is First Lord and Minister, Canning and Wellesley Secretaries, and Lord Sidmouth President.

“It is added that Ryder resigns and that there will be several other changes. But whichever of these versions is the truest in detail, it is universally agreed and believed that the substance of the arrangement in one or other of these two shapes has been finally decided upon. With all my heart I do congratulate you, as far as you are concerned, on this solution, for your letter had suggested to me more topics of possible embarrassment than I had foreseen or than I much liked to contemplate.

“Lord Hertford called on Craufurd yesterday and told him he had just been to Newgate to see *Bellingham*, but that the gaoler had refused to let him see his prisoner. How much better the gaoler knows his duty than the Lord Chamberlain does! This wanton and childish curiosity would have been scarcely pardonable in Lord Yarmouth.

“Blackburne tells me the news is good from Lancashire, but Bradshaw tells my neighbour that what he knows of the vicinity of Manchester is quite frightful, and that he is thoroughly persuaded of the existence of very extensive and dangerous associations; and I am afraid the canal agent is better authority than the county member.”

EARL GREY to THE SAME.

1812, May 18. Portman Square.—“We know nothing more as to what may have been resolved upon or intended, except that Lord Liverpool had yesterday a long interview with Wellesley. Lord Auckland tells me that Lord Wellesley is supposed to have declined the proposal made to him, whatever it may have been, and this is so far confirmed that I know Liverpool said after the interview that the Marquis was on his high horse.

“Bellingham was executed this morning without the least disturbance and indeed without the attendance of greater crowd of spectators than is usual at any common execution. He wanted to speak, but was not allowed, and a good many people from the crowd, at his first appearance on the scaffold, cried out, God bless you,

“I enclose in another cover a letter from Lord Derby, which will give you the best information as to the state of his county. Manchester and Nottingham are not the only places where rejoicings took place on receiving the news of Perceval’s death ; they have been, I fear, very general.”

Private. LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, [May 18]. Hertford Street.—“I will throw together such observable particulars as have occurred since Saturday afternoon, and if I shall learn anything more in the latter part of the morning I will write further.

“We dined on Saturday at Lord Lansdowne’s, where it was fully believed (on the authority of one of the officers in Carleton House) that Lord Castlereagh had actually resigned. It is now understood that he had signified a wish to that effect, but was prevailed on by his colleagues to suspend his resignation. And I have reason to believe that yesterday morning he was determined to stand the brunt, not being, as *Scapin* says, one of those ‘*Cœurs pusillanimes, qui pour trop prévoir les suites des choses, n’osent rien entreprendre.*’ It is certain that if any arrangement can be formed on the existing materials Lord Liverpool consents to play the part of Premier, and I suppose that there has been an attempt to prevail on Lord Wellesley to take the War Department. The report of yesterday evening was that Lord Liverpool had gone to Apsley House at six o’clock and that soon afterwards Lord Wellesley had sent a letter to the Prince expressive of his inability to be of service. This, however, is merely report and may be inaccurate and indeed without foundation.

“The general persuasion now is that at last, and with a bad grace, an application will be made to you and to Lord Grenville [Grey ?], and this is not only the cry of our friends ; it is beginning to be the general wish and avowed sentiment of many who had given their support to Mr. Perceval’s Government. Still the struggle against any handsome attempt to do good may be prolonged for a few days and (though it will not be easy) even for a few weeks.

“The undertaking, if it should become a duty, will be arduous and most anxious. Among the many urgent considerations one of the most urgent would be the wild current of expenditure, accompanied by a most mischievous floating debt, and by the growing necessity of loans and taxes beyond what the country can now supply. As to the last-mentioned point, it may be worth your considering whether in the honey-moon of a new Government a million and a half of the sinking fund which now amounts to 13½ millions, might not be applied on a fair and justifiable principle.

“I conceive that there would be a reasonable hope of recovering a good understanding with America and a possible chance of some practicable proposal from Napoleon.

Three o'clock.—"I have not heard anything more except a confirmation of Lord Liverpool's mission to Lord Wellesley and a new version of Lord Castlereagh's letter, which was not a resignation of office, but a declining to charge himself with the 'leading responsibility in the House of Commons.' "

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1812, [May 19]. Hertford Street.—"I have undertaken to meet Lord Grey at the House of Lords at two o'clock and to stay there till half-past five. It is probable therefore that I may add an interesting postscript to this note.

"At this moment I am not apprized of any material alteration in the state of things, such as it was when I wrote yesterday. The sitting part of poor Mr. Perceval's Ministry has not been able to find any head and shoulders, and yet is disposed to sit on. Lord Wellesley certainly had an audience at Carleton House on Monday night, and Mr. Canning had an audience at three o'clock yesterday, and the burden of their song (which must have been *mauvaise musique* to the royal ear) was that the state of the country required a more enlarged and stronger Administration than they could form with the materials offered to them.

"This final result of Lord Liverpool's negotiation was reported last night at a late Cabinet. The decision adopted thereon is not yet known. But the Ministers still hold official life, for Lord Bathurst wrote this morning at ten o'clock to Lord Grey to say that the examinations could go forward at two o'clock, but must be interrupted by a commission at half-past three and that they might be resumed afterwards. If the desperate attempt should be made to maintain a palsied Government notoriously and confessedly inadequate to the exigencies of the Empire, it must and will become a subject of Parliamentary censure.

"Mr. Tierney called here yesterday and we were talking about the mischiefs of so large a floating debt, which he seemed to think could not be materially reduced without requiring an addition to the taxes beyond what would be possible. Whilst he was saying this your brother came in, and the conversation took another turn and was not resumed. I mention it only because it seems to me that in point of public faith it is the same thing whether you have a large mass of discredited paper floating in the market and bearing an interest, or whether you fix and fund that paper and still leave it equally with an interest unprovided for. It is a good subject for your meditation, though it will somewhat lower the luxury of the lilacs and rhododendrons.

"The advertisement respecting the threatening letters to Carleton House is much and generally censured."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1812, May 19. House of Lords. Four o'clock p.m.—"Lord Grey desires me to say that being engaged to the examination

of Finlay, he leaves it to me to tell you the little that we know at this moment and will write fully to you to-morrow. It is understood (and indeed Lord Buckinghamshire confirms it to me) that Lord Liverpool definitely takes the Treasury, that Lord Castlereagh is to take the lead in the House of Commons and that Mr. Vansittart is to be the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I asked Lord Buckinghamshire if Lord Caledon's seat was continued to Vansittart. He answered, 'I am afraid not.' I then said that I desired not to make any improper interrogatories, but that it would be idle not to say that it would be curious to know who was fixed for the War Department and whether it was true that Yorke would return to office. His answer was, 'I would say if I knew, but when I last heard those two points were not decided.'

"Lord Grey desires me to add that in the offer stated to Lord Wellesley the prominent point was 'a postponement of the Catholic question,' to which it was added that Lord Castlereagh was to have the lead in the House of Commons.

"Certainly if one had the power and wish to prompt a set of men to run into a completion of embarrassment and public disgrace, the course to be taken is that which would be recommended. In a large public view it is not unlikely to have salutary effects.

"I enclose under a separate cover a most laughable Irish Bill from the House of Commons.

"Lord Lansdowne is to see this evening the notes of the negotiation with Canning, which are given in writing to Lord Granville Leveson. He confirms what I have said that Lord Castlereagh was specifically stated to continue in office and to be Minister in the House of Commons, and that on the Catholic point the expression was 'the present Ministers have no change of opinion.'

"It is said that Stuart Wortley is going to give notice of a motion for an Address in the House to appoint a strong Administration."

Half-past five.—"Ecce iterum! Lord Lansdowne desires me to state to you that he has seen the copy of Canning's letter to Lord Liverpool and that the substance was as follows: that 'having consulted with his friends, they were unanimously of opinion that they could not come forwards in the manner which was wished, without a loss of that character and weight which alone could make their services efficient and beneficial, more especially under the understanding that the opinions of the Regent's Ministers in respect to the Catholic question remained unchanged. That he (Canning) in the actual circumstances of the Empire felt more than ever the necessity of promoting the success of that measure, at the same time that he was anxious to accompany it by securities to the Church.' He concluded with some phrases of polite concern that he could not accede to his (Lord Liverpool's) Administration. I believe that this though imperfect (for it was stated

to me in the House in a whisper) is tolerably accurate as to the general sense.

“Wortley has given notice of his motion for to-morrow, and it is said that many others who were supporters of Mr. Perceval’s Ministry are to come forward to the same effect. Wortley gave his notice on the morning of Vansittart’s writ. No other writ was moved. I begin to think that you must move for a few days to Camelford House.”

‘ LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, May 19.—“I do not believe that to this hour there is any arrangement approaching to completion. It seems to be doubted whether the communication made to Lord Wellesley went further than to a requisition from the Prince to state his sentiments and confidential advice. Making most liberal allowances for mutual dispositions to accommodate, it is still thought impracticable for Lord Wellesley and Canning to sit in the same Cabinet with Lord Sidmouth and Lord Buckinghamshire, and it is avowed by the friends of Lord Castlereagh that he cannot and will not sit on the same Treasury Bench with Canning. The Prince, however, is so determined to try any experiment that may preserve him a little longer from his ‘enemies’ (a word which he uses as the synonym of ‘early friends’) that I shall not be surprised if in the last resort he should insist on the present Ministry going forwards without any better change than that of putting Mr. Pole or Mr. Manners Sutton or some individual of that description to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer as Leader of the House of Commons. Such a state of things ought not to last 48 hours, and it ought to excite a general indignation, but we live in odd times.

“I had written thus far when George Eden called and he had just seen Lord and Lady Granville Leveson getting into their open carriage. The first of the two said to him that he believed the Ministers would try now to stand on their own strength, to which Lady Granville added that she would have been sincerely sorry if they had got any other accession. The anecdote is small, still it affords a strong presumption that Lord Wellesley and Canning are decidedly not to come in.

“It is, I believe, true that when Bellingham was on the scaffold yesterday he said in a low voice to one of the sheriffs, ‘Is the Prince Regent to go to the Lord Mayor’s feast?’ Lord Sefton declares that he heard it, and it is supposed that the sheriff made no communication to Ryder. I do not mention it as inferring that the question had any meaning beyond the reveries of a deranged mind, but it will give alarm.”

EARL GREY to THE SAME.

1812, May 20. Portman Square.—“There are various rumours afloat, which are not worth the writing. The only

thing I know that appears authentic is from one of Canning's council at a late hour last night. The same proposition was made to him and Wellesley. Liverpool saw them both. The proposal I understand to have been, though this was not distinctly stated, to join the present Ministry, Liverpool being at the head. The answer of Canning was conveyed in a letter to the Prince, after a consultation with his friends, yesterday about two o'clock. It was a refusal, but that he might not be supposed to be unwilling to meet the dangers of the crisis or backward in zeal for his Royal Highness's service, he solicited a personal interview for the purpose of explaining his motives. This was to take place this morning and the result remains to be seen. Wellesley's conduct, I believe, has been the same as Canning's, and he is said to have seen the Prince last night. If I hear anything more before the post goes out, I will write again.

"I am not sure whether I was told that Canning's letter was to the Prince himself or to some other person for the purpose of being communicated to the Prince. Thank God, there appears very little prospect at present of any proposal coming to us, and the aversion so strongly manifested to make any will make our game so much the easier if at last we should be applied to. As the two Houses proceed on business to-morrow, something must, I think, be decided upon before they meet."

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, May [20]. House of Lords. Four o'clock p.m.—"As Lord Grey writes fully to you, my bulletin shall be short. Lord Wellesley's letter is a subject of some criticism in respect to many of its phrases and paragraphs which will not escape your remark, and with respect to the Continental war he establishes positions that must make it very difficult to form any union with him. The proposed extension of which he talks, as having been refused before he resigned, alludes to a refusal of his then colleagues to apply a further million almost at the same time that they determined on an expenditure of 700,000*l.* for barracks. I have not heard what is the limited extension of which Lord Liverpool talks as being now practicable.

"I hear to-day that the Ministers complain of the publication of the correspondence as being unfair in omitting a second letter written by Lord Liverpool. That second letter was addressed to Lord Wellesley and purported to correct a mistake in Lord Wellesley's supposition that the Ministers declined any further consideration of the question. Lord Liverpool treats that as a misapprehension and enters into some long and indefinite discussions. He sent a copy to Mr. Canning and desired him to annex it to his papers. Mr. Canning replied that it did not appear to him to have connection with his part of the transaction, and besides that it was merely of a 'controversial nature.'

“I write this at four o’clock and am leaving the House to pass the rest of the day quietly in Hertford Street. It seems to be very doubtful what may be the balance of numbers on this day’s division. Many are sanguine in the belief that there will be a majority for the motion; in the meantime it is reported that H. Lascelles is to second and Sir Robert Peel is to support the motion, and also Mr. Fitzgerald, Lord Desart, Wilberforce and others; but I conceive that all these rumours are quite uncertain, and that if the Ministers should be hard run it will be more by the effect of ‘staying away’ than by declared opposition.

“There is some expectation that Lord Talbot is to give notice of a similar motion, but I have heard that he had only expressed a disposition to do so and had afterwards given it up.

“On the whole I really have no doubt that it is growing material for you to be 26 miles nearer to the scene of action, at least for a couple of days; and in that respect old Talbot had a second sight and was prophetic.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1812, May 20. Cleveland Square.—“I have just seen Morpeth, who has learnt the following details from Canning, which I tell you *in confidence*, though the general substance will probably soon be known. It appears that Canning and Lord Wellesley have each treated separately with Lord Liverpool and have written separate letters. The reason given to Morpeth for this was that Lord Wellesley and Canning did not stand upon the same ground with respect to this Government, and therefore, though they agreed generally, they thought it better to write distinct letters after their separate audiences of the Prince, which lasted, with Lord Wellesley three hours till three on Monday night, and with Canning two hours yesterday morning. They wrote to Lord Liverpool, and Canning shewed to Morpeth the letter which he had sent. Morpeth says this letter rests entirely upon the Catholic question, upon there appearing to the writer to be no intention in the present Government to entertain it; and upon the writer’s conviction that without entertaining it no Government could be strong. Canning told Morpeth that he thought it better to confine his own answer to this one point and that he had therefore kept clear of all mention whatever of other topics, and all reference to persons; he therefore had said nothing of Sidmouth. I do not understand that he said this however as expressing a resolution not to act with him absolutely, but he added *in confidence*, what you must be careful *not to repeat to anybody*, namely that Liverpool’s intention was that *Castlereagh* should *keep his present office and the lead in the House of Commons*, with Canning the other Secretary of State! Surely Liverpool is gone as mad as Bellingham to entertain such a notion, but, at least, it explains how the Prince meant to have Canning without losing Castle-

reagh, and Canning understood Castlereagh to have agreed to this proposal of Liverpool's, which, after all, could never have held together a week; and my comment is that Canning, finding the impracticable notions that were entertained, thought it best to rest his refusal solely upon the Catholic question without entering into any other details.

"Canning tells Morpeth that Wellesley's answer to Liverpool was a very long letter embracing a great variety of topics and distinctly pressing the necessity of endeavours to look for assistance in forming a Government to the ranks of Opposition; while in Canning's letter there is nothing to this effect beyond the general phrase of the times requiring a strong Government. Canning says that this voluminous letter of Wellesley's has produced an answer from Liverpool to Wellesley upon some points he had mis-stated, but all negotiation is at an end, and the Government is to stand on its own legs. Liverpool is to have the Treasury, Vansittart Chancellor and Bragge Secretary of State. Thus far my authentic intelligence. Report adds to this Ryder's resignation, and the seals either to Lord Palmerston or to Manners-Sutton.

"Sir Watkin has this moment called in a hurry in his way to the House to tell me that many of Perceval's country gentlemen friends are outrageous at this remnant of the old Government pretending to go on, and Wortley has, according to Watkin's report, undertaken to go down to the House to-day to give notice of his moving to-morrow an Address to the Prince Regent to desire him to form a strong and efficient Government, such as the dangers of the times and of the country imperiously demand. If this is true, and if persons of that description do really hold this language, the present wretched project will not be able to survive a week."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, May 20, half-past five. Cleveland Square.—"All is wrong again and the proposed arrangement stands still. I have just learnt at Morpeth's that Lord G. Leveson was there at three to-day and said that an offer had been made to Lord Wellesley and Canning which was not likely to be accepted. I gather from the same quarter that they are proud of this refusal and talk of it as affording the only chance of doing good. Different grounds are suggested as having produced this refusal; some say it is a dislike to being subordinate to Liverpool, others that they stipulate for the Catholic question, and a few suspect that Lord Wellesley requires authority to treat with you and Grey. I know that Lord G. Seymour this morning said to a friend of mine that he, Lord G. Seymour, hoped that Lord Wellesley would adhere to the dignified line he had taken of refusing to come into Administration without liberty to try to form one with Lord Grenville. I fear therefore that you are not yet *clear of discussion*. On the other hand,

I have it from very good authority that the present Government announce their determination to stick together, and either to keep it in their own hands or to resign in a body. Wellesley, who loves writing papers, is said to have written a paper yesterday morning to the Prince in consequence of which he was sent for to Carlton House in the evening and stayed there till two or three in the morning, and at twelve Canning saw the Prince previous to the Prince's going to Windsor to the Queen's private birthday. The Prince is said to abuse Grey more than ever, and to except you with less unfavourable expressions.

"I learn from Tierney that Creevey probably will try the Teller's question again by moving that the extraordinaries of the army shall be issued without fee, upon a supposed precedent of 1744, when they are said to have been so voted; and Tierney thinks that if it is proposed to suspend the vote of extraordinaries till a committee is appointed to report on the precedent of 1744, the House in its present temper will perhaps acquiesce in that course, though he shall be ready to oppose it. He is lower than ever because he considers Whitbread as having broken up the party by his conduct; and he says very truly he does not know how any party can make a strong Government."

EARL GREY TO THE SAME.

1812, May 21. Portman Square.—"Lord Auckland undertook yesterday to write to you the final result of the overture made to Wellesley and Canning, and this day's newspapers will convey to you the details of the transaction, with the exception of Canning's paper, which is much better than Wellesley's, bringing forward the single point of the Catholic question and avoiding the discussion of any others on which objections might arise to the proposal; the difference upon this rendering such discussion unnecessary. It is clear that, independent of this, the proposal was one which he could not accept without absolute disgrace, and it would have justified a much shorter answer.

"The accounts of the proceedings in the House of Commons will also have informed you of the notice given by Mr. Wortley for to-day. I hear of so many persons hitherto friendly to the Administration who will support it and of others who will keep out of the way that I can hardly doubt its being carried by a considerable majority. This must necessarily produce discussions with us, on which your presence in town will become indispensable. Indeed, after what has passed I think we must consider what steps are to be taken with respect to Canning and Wellesley, and I feel myself compelled therefore to request that you will come to town as soon as you can. Our ultimate agreement with Wellesley, if he persists in his romantic notions with respect to the war in the Peninsula, seems nearly impossible. But I am sure our friends

will not be satisfied if we show any indisposition to consider the means of accommodating our differences on this or any other point on which such differences may still subsist between us. Wellesley sent me the papers yesterday afternoon, which I returned with general expressions of civility. This passed through Lord Jersey and Culling Smith, a verbal message.

"It is said that Lord Talbot is to give notice to-day in the House of Lords of a motion similar to Wortley's.

"As I trust I shall see you very soon, and I do earnestly hope that you will come without delay, I will not trouble you any further at present."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, May 21. Cleveland Square.—"Ponsonby tells me that Lord Grey has written to press you very strongly to come up, and therefore I only write one line by precaution in case you are prevented from coming. I cannot say that I am at all impatient to see you in London, and though I know you have promised to answer a summons from Lord Grey, and though I see Ponsonby and other friends in a fever at your absence, I had still rather that you kept out of London till some personal call or evident indispensable necessity should force you to come up.

"The papers of to-day contain the letters and *minutes* of conversation between Wellesley, Canning and Lord Liverpool, a more unreserved communication than former custom or even present times seem to justify to such an extent and at so early a moment; the letters agree with the account of them which I sent you yesterday. Canning's makes no reference to Opposition and studiously points to a general political agreement with Liverpool, and even on the Catholic question, which is his *cheval de bataille*, he seems more adverse to unqualified emancipation than even Lord Wellesley. I find too that he took occasion the day before yesterday, in presenting a petition against licenses, to say that he agreed with the petitioners because their objections were *not* to the Orders of Council, but to the system of licenses.

"Lord Wellesley's letter is much more frank, but much more indiscreet, because he makes in it a public pledge upon the Spanish war to an extent to which he knows that a large part of our friends cannot accede, and from which, after so public a pledge, it is scarce possible for him to recede; and as he does this, *de propos délibéré*, and with the knowledge of the extent to which you differ from him on this subject, it can scarcely be supposed that he can be sanguine in the hope of a political union with you, though that is a point on which the public talk of the day rests very much. Lord Lovain and Lord Dysart (both of whom have resigned), Wilberforce, Lascelles, Henry Drummond, *cum multis aliis*, are all expected to support Wortley Stuart, and Lord Lonsdale's members, if they vote at all, are to vote with us. If so, the new Chancellor of the

Exchequer will find his Government dissolved before he can get back into Parliament, which Lord Caledon will not help him to do; and it is still inexplicable to me that Liverpool should have consented to vacate Vansittart's seat after Wortley Stuart and others had told him on the preceding day of their hostility to that arrangement. Are they so pledged to the Prince that they can only resist his importunity by shewing him that they are beat in Parliament? Will the Prince (if they are beat) send to Wellesley, and if he does with what intention? Wellesley says that the Prince told him he warned him not to connect himself with Opposition for, if he did, he would have nothing to say to him; yet by Wellesley's publishing his letter he pledges himself to some discussions with Opposition, though Spanish war and Orders in Council and his *intermediary* view of Ireland present insuperable difficulties to the union of these two with great part of the Opposition. Whitbread has declared he will never act with Wellesley and Canning, and, if he had added a great G. to his list of exclusion from his co-operation, he will only do what I hope and trust we shall be doing by him. The end of all this will be a Government patched up by Wellesley and Canning and I care not how soon they begin."

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1812, [May 22]. House of Lords.—"I write these lines, though I persuade myself that my letter will pursue you from Dropmore to Camelford House.

"There is a good attendance here to-day, but no allusions to public subjects, nor as yet any Minister except the Chancellor. It is known that there was a Cabinet at ten o'clock this morning, the result of which is believed to be a general tender of resignation into the Prince's hands. Nothing further has yet transpired. There may be a renewed application to Apsley House, but that will only be an intermediate step, and I have not a doubt that your mind must prepare itself for a most arduous and anxious task.

"The close of the business yesterday in the House of Commons was ill managed and shewed a want of that decision and authority at the moment, which are become more than ever essential in that House.

"I was just closing this at the table of the House, when Lord Grey confirmed to me that the resignation is absolute and general; that the report is that Lord Wellesley is sent for. Lord Grey requests me to urge as much as possible your immediate arrival in town and this is the wish certainly of many of your friends."

Postscript.—"The Prince's answer was: 'I shall take into my immediate consideration the address of the House of Commons.'"

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1812, May 22.] Cleveland Square.—“If you wait for the post you will learn that you must get into your chaise, for Wortley’s motion, as the papers show you, was carried, and Lord Milton and Wortley are now at Carleton House presenting the resolution to the Regent. Meantime it is universally reported that the Ministers have resigned, and Stair has just told me that one of the Ministers has told him that they have actually resigned. The only alleged excuse for their waiting for a division against them is that Charles Long positively assured them of a safe and sufficient majority in the House of Commons.

“Charles is engaged to-morrow. I have a card three weeks old to Lady Downshire, but which I shall probably put off to dine with you; but at all events I shall see you soon after your arrival.

“Fremantle says the Wellesleys all say that Lord Wellesley has no intention of forming any Government himself, but wishes to connect himself in politics with you. His letters certainly have raised new difficulties to any such union, but perhaps not so insuperable as to prevent discussion.”

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

[1812, May 22. Hertford Street.]—“The last night’s meeting at Lord Liverpool’s lasted till past one o’clock this morning and was resumed at 12 o’clock to-day to settle the minute to be transmitted (I suppose by the Chancellor) to Carleton House. I have not any idea either of the questions referred or of the purport of the answer, but I have reason to believe that there is no expectation among the Ministers of its being possible for them to resume, or to compromise, or to continue.”

MINUTE OF A COMMUNICATION MADE BY MARQUIS WELLESLEY TO EARL GREY AND LORD GRENVILLE AT EARL GREY’S HOUSE IN LONDON.

1812, May 23.—“Lord Wellesley stated that he had received the commands of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent to lay before his Royal Highness the plan of such an Administration as he (Lord Wellesley) might deem adapted to the present crisis of affairs.

“That he had apprized his Royal Highness of the necessity of ascertaining the views and dispositions of all parties, with regard to certain general principles, previously to the formation of any such plan.

“That he considered himself merely as the instrument of executing his Royal Highness’s commands on this occasion, and that he neither claimed nor desired for himself any station in the Administration which it was in his Royal Highness’s contemplation to form.

“Under these circumstances he requested to know whether any obstacle existed to the concurrence of Lords Grenville and Grey or their friends in the following general principles as the basis upon which an Administration might be formed.

“*First.*—That the state of the laws affecting the Roman Catholics and the claims of that body of his Majesty’s subjects should be taken into immediate consideration with a view to a conciliatory adjustment of those claims.

“*Secondly.*—That the war in the Peninsula should be prosecuted on a scale of adequate vigour.

“Lord Wellesley stated that as Mr. Canning and he agreed in these general principles, he had requested Mr. Canning to communicate them to Lord Liverpool.

“Lord Wellesley has reduced the substance of this communication to writing and now submits it to Lord Grenville and Lord Grey.” *Copy.*

Private. LORD AUCKLAND TO LORD GRENVILLE.

[1812, May 23. Camelford House.]—“I am sorry not to have found you. Some small particulars have been communicated to me which, taken together, leave no doubt on my mind respecting the entire failure of the attempt to preserve the ‘firm of Liverpool, Sidmouth and Company,’ with additional partners. A fourth meeting was to take place at half-past twelve to-day, and it is understood to be the last; and one of the individuals of that meeting told me frankly that ‘the propositions in discussion were such as to make it impossible to decide without becoming liable to misconstruction and censure.’ He at the same time gave me to understand that he considered the whole at an end.

“Lord Grey meant to call on you about one o’clock in his way to the House, I suppose to tell you, among other matters, that Lord Moira had an audience of the Prince yesterday evening and was received with demonstrations of great kindness, and without being subjected to any difficulty by propositions on the actual state of things. My expectation is that this evening, either through Lord Wellesley or more directly, you and Lord Grey will be avowedly applied to.

“Lord Grey is to be at the House of Lords till six o’clock from two. If it were not inconvenient to you, it would have been well taken by the manufacturers if you could have shewn yourself there for a quarter of an hour. I think that I shall go for an hour from Hertford Street at half-past two.”

Confidential. THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1812, May 23. Hertford Street, 9 p.m.—“Not having had the good sense to accompany the ladies to the opera I am left to my own meditations, which naturally turn to the difficult subject now before you. I shall proceed to submit some doubts, in the hope that both Lord Grey and you will bestow a short perusal on them.

“It would be unbecoming to suspect that the propositions in question can have originated either in Carleton House or Apsley House from any design or desire to injure us eventually in the opinions of our friends and of the public. But the temper and circumstances of the moment make it incumbent on you to guard against every possible misconception.

“We have no security that this prospectus is not a circular ; it may have gone, and may go, not only to Lord Liverpool, but to Lord Melville, Lord Sidmouth, Lord Castlereagh, Lord Moira, the Duke of Norfolk and others. And, if any of the individuals should give specious and satisfactory answers, you and Lord Grey will see yourselves in comical and unexpected coalitions. And after all an implied right is reserved to the Prince to strike your names out of this roll of volunteers ; or if he should graciously admit the names, still he reserves the full claim to object both to the first and second considerations which are stated to be the conditional basis of any admission. Besides which, the whole is left open by this mode of proceeding to an invidious question respecting the household appointments and other departments, and all the inadmissible mischiefs of Court influence to be kept as a check on Ministers.

“But a system of Government adequate to the complicated difficulties of these times cannot be grounded on two or indeed on twenty written stipulations, even if those stipulations were separately unobjectionable and avowedly authorised by the Prince. It happens that the second of those stipulations is a wild absurdity as it now stands unexplained ; and it cannot be explained on paper without entering into particulars dangerous and improper to be published.

“My inference from these remarks is that in guarded and conciliatory language I would convey a general and warm concurrence in what is said of the Catholic question and somewhat more explicitly. And as to the proposed prosecution of the struggle in the Peninsula with adequate vigour, I would not be induced by these unauthorised interrogatories to express more than a general intention to support the war in whatever manner and to whatever extent a competent knowledge and consideration of our means and a due regard to the various interests of the empire may allow, always accompanied by a desire to attain a safe and honourable peace, and in the prosecution of that object to avoid improvident expense. And you could connect those objects with two others as engaging your anxious attention : 1. ‘The means of restoring without delay the trade, commerce, manufactures and employment of the people. 2. The state of the revenue, the floating debt, the expenditure and public credit.’

“And I think it not immaterial to introduce into the paper some reference to its being consonant to the wise and liberal and provident views which have so long been maintained by

so many respectable persons, whose friendship and connection with you and Lord Grey have been founded on the purest principles of public policy.

“Last I would explicitly say that a sense of duty and attachment to the Prince Regent will equally dispose Lord Grey and you to submit *in person* any further explanation that these general views may induce him to require, in the event of his Royal Highness being disposed to honour with his confidence your readiness to devote your zealous and honest endeavours to merit his approbation by contributing to restore the prosperity of the country.

“Now having written all this, I am not presumptuous enough to suppose that you will adopt either in words or substance any of the suggestions, or that they are wanted; but it has been half an hour’s amusement to me to throw my *revue* upon paper, and, if you do not burn it, I will take it back when we next meet.”

ACCOUNT BY LORD GRENVILLE OF CONFERENCES BETWEEN
LORD GREY AND HIMSELF ON ONE PART AND LORD
WELLESLEY ON THE OTHER, ON THE SUBJECT OF A NEW
ADMINISTRATION.

1812, May 24. Camelford House.—“Yesterday morning I came to town. I found a note from Lord Grey that Lord Wellesley had appointed to call upon him that morning, and desiring to see me as soon as I could come. I went there and soon after Lord Wellesley came, and, being told by Lord Grey that I was in the house, expressed his desire that I should be present.

“He told us that the Prince Regent had sent to him the night before and told him that in consequence of the vote of the House of Commons it became necessary for him to form a new Administration and that he desired Lord Wellesley to lay before him the *prospectus* of an Administration. That he, Lord Wellesley, had expressed that it would be necessary for him to learn the sentiments of the body of the Opposition. That both this point and whatever Wellesley said about the principles of a new Government the Prince Regent constantly put by, waiving all discussion of these matters and contenting himself with ordering Wellesley to lay before him (as he termed it) the prospectus of an Administration upon which he said it would be for him to decide whether it was such as he could accept with honour.

“That he, Wellesley, in considering the matter, had thought that public men might unite on two principles which he stated to us to be—

1st. A moderate concession to the Catholics.

2nd. An extended scale of operations in the Peninsula.

“Moderate concession he explained to mean the repeal of all disqualifications, but with such time for consideration

either in the Cabinet or in Parliament as might reconcile opinions here.

"On the second point he had doubted whether there could be any agreement until he heard Lord Grey's speech in the House of Lords. This gave occasion to Lord Grey and to myself to explain ourselves on this point as nearly as possible in the terms used in our subsequent memorandum.

"Lord Grey then asked whether we were to understand that he had any direct commission or authority from the Prince Regent to communicate with us. He said he had not and that if on consideration we thought proper to object to entering into any discussion on account of the want of that authority we were perfectly at liberty to do so.

"It was then agreed that he should send us in the form of a minute the substance of his communication and that we would return him a written answer.

"In the course of the day he sent the minute accordingly. It appeared to us to vary the proposition considerably from what we had collected from the verbal explanation of it, particularly in the description of both the principles on which he asked our sentiments.

"In the evening at a meeting here, at which were present Lords Grey, Lauderdale, Spencer, Lansdowne, Holland and Messrs. Ponsonby, Tierney and my brother, we settled the form of a memorandum to be given in answer.

"This morning we saw Lord Wellesley at Apsley House. Before we entered on the subject he told us that he had that morning had an unanimous answer from the late Ministers declining all intercourse with him on the subject, with a separate letter from Lord Melville approving of his two principles, but declining any share in a Government of which he, Wellesley, was to be at the head.

"I then expressed to him shortly that we had brought a written memorandum of our answer to his minute. That we thought the minute in some respects more satisfactory than the conversation, and for that as for other reasons we had thought it best to confine our answer strictly to the minute; and that for that reason nothing was said on one point which passed in the conversation. That he must remember that Lord Grey asked him as to his authority to communicate with us and that his answer was as stated above. He admitted this and offered, if we wished it, to add it to the minute, which we declined, saying that the memorandum now drawn applied to the minute and it was better to leave both as they were. I then added that it must therefore be distinctly understood that we were not engaged in any negotiation with him for forming a Government, nor communicating through him with the Prince, but simply explaining ourselves to him (Wellesley) on two questions of public interest on which he had wished to learn our sentiments, and on which there could not be the smallest indisposition to communicate explicitly

with him. This state of the transaction, which was also still farther explained in the same sense by Lord Grey, was fully admitted by Lord Wellesley.

"I then read the memorandum which he received with general expressions of satisfaction. We had some conversation on the Spanish business, which was however little more than a repetition of what is stated in our memorandum, except that Lord Grey and I both insisted rather more particularly on the strong sense we entertained of the financial difficulties.

"He then said nothing remained for him but to repeat to the Prince what had passed and to receive his farther orders. This gave me occasion again to repeat what I had said at the beginning of our being engaged in no negotiation, nor in any communication with the Prince Regent. Lord Wellesley then suggested that if we wished it this explanation might be reduced to writing, but I said I conceived it unnecessary as the matter seemed perfectly understood between us, and if this was made part of the written documents so must also other matters which led to it. He agreed in this, but said that he would take care that this point should appear correctly in his report to the Prince Regent." *Copy.*

MEMORANDUM DELIVERED BY LORDS GRENVILLE AND
GREY to LORD WELLESLEY AT APSLEY HOUSE.

1812, May 24.—"In such a moment as the present we feel it to be the duty of all public men, both by frank and conciliatory explanations of principle and by the total abandonment of every personal object, to facilitate, as far as may be in their power, the means of giving effect to the late vote of the House of Commons and of averting the imminent and unparalleled dangers of the country.

"Lord Wellesley has selected two among the many important subjects which must engage the attention of any men who could in such circumstances be called upon to consider of the acceptance of stations of public trust. On these two points our explanation shall be as distinct as it is in our power to make it.

"On the first, indeed, our opinion is too well known and has been too recently expressed to need repetition.

"We have derived a very high gratification from Lord Wellesley's powerful exertions in support of the claims of the Roman Catholics, as well as from the manner in which that subject is adverted to in his minute. And we do not hesitate to assure him that we will warmly support any proposal made by any Ministers for the immediate consideration of those claims with a view to their conciliatory adjustment, a measure without which we have already declared that we can entertain no hope in any case of rendering our services useful.

"As to the second point, no person feels more strongly than we do the advantages which would result from a suc-

cessful termination of the present contest in Spain. But we are of opinion that the direction of military operations are questions not of principle but of policy, to be regulated by circumstances in their nature temporary and fluctuating and in many cases known only to persons in official stations, by the engagements of the country, the prospects of ultimate success, the extent of the exertions necessary for its attainment and the means of supporting those efforts without too great a pressure on the finances and internal prosperity of the country. On such questions therefore no public men, whether in or out of office, can undertake for more than a deliberate and dispassionate consideration according to the circumstances of the case as it may appear, and to such means of information as may be within their reach. But we cannot in sincerity conceal from Lord Wellesley that, in the present state of the finances, we entertain the strongest doubts of the practicability of an increase in any branch of the public expenditure." *Copy.*

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, May 24. Hertford Street.—“I am obliged to go to the annual meeting of the trustees of the Hunterian Museum (where, by the bye, your presence for once would have been desirable) from four o'clock for the remainder of the day and evening; any note or message from you will find me here and quite at liberty to go to you whenever it may best suit you.

“If (which is not improbable) Lord Wellesley is to be the ‘intermediary,’ I could wish to see you before you receive him.

“I reserve other details. I have reason to believe that at a late hour last night no message had been sent. The Prince was supposed to be in a private council with the Duke of York.”

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to THE SAME.

1812, May 24. Stowe.—“Lady Grenville’s kind note which I received this morning, with its enclosure, satisfies me that the discussions will draw out into greater length than I had expected from my son’s account of what had passed before he left town. The words of the two propositions in the ‘minute’ are certainly palatable to you, as you could have expected, and if Lord Wellesley strictly abides by them no real difference exists between you on those points, for it is clear that the Catholic question must be discussed before any conciliatory adjustment of their claims can be arranged, and the words ‘immediate consideration’ is all that you could look for.

“With respect to the Spanish question, you who look to that quarter with more doubt than I do, have always measured our operations there by our means, and have formed your

opinion of the necessity of retrenching the expenditure of men and of money in that quarter from the inadequacy of our resources in both these points. If, therefore, Lord Wellesley abides correctly by the words he has chosen of '*adequate vigour*,' you and he do not differ. I have stated this very shortly because it is clear to me that the public will not bear you out in refusing negotiation on these data, and I am persuaded (perhaps erroneously) that Lord Wellesley is in earnest in his wish to throw the Government fairly into your hands and those of Lord Grey, to which he and Canning would indeed be a very powerful assistance if they continued to act roundly with you, which, I protest, I firmly believe they would do. I therefore repeat my earnest hopes that you have *entertained* the proposition for discussion, with the full determination to make assurance doubly sure in all the many points where you will be met by the want of confidence and even by the hostility of the Prince Regent. Having thus disburdened my conscience by earnestly pressing you to do all that an honest man can do to give success to this overture, I proceed to assure you beforehand that I will (so far as under my unhappy state of mind and body I am enabled to think or move) abide by and adopt your line and course of action, whatever it may be, fully confiding in your rectitude and correctness, and earnestly wishing only for that repose and quiet which is now every day more necessary for me. But it is likewise necessary for me to deposit in your hands the entire disposal of my conduct and proceeding respecting my office, which clamour will inevitably plunder from me, and which in its present state must be an endless source of elamour and uneasiness to you in your official situation. I owe of eourse to Lord Camden not to do anything in this matter without communication with him, but I shall act as you wish me, save only that I cannot consent to be put every year in the pillory, to be pelted by every unworthy demoerat.

"I have not been well for the last three days, and as soon as I can I had thoughts of coming to Dropmore to relieve in some degree my misery by witnessing in dear Lady Grenville and you the happiness that it has pleased God to remove from me. God Almighty preserve those blessings long to you both."

EARL GREY to THE SAME.

1812, May 25. Portman Square.—"Lord Jersey has just brought me an account, which he has received from Culling Smith for the purpose of its being communicated to me, of Wellesley's interview to-day with the Prince.

"The Prince expressed his approbation of the two principles and stated that the consideration of the Catholic question, in the way in which Lord Wellesley had proposed it, should be the basis of any Administration he might form. He added that the Cabinet were then deliberating upon it in order to see whether they could accede to this principle. He further

stated that he had urged the members of the present Government to give up their personal objections to Wellesley. Wellesley then urged the necessity of an authorised communication with us, of which he offered to be the channel, provided full powers were given to him in writing for that purpose. To this the Prince gave no answer and said he would see Wellesley to-morrow.

"I think we shall have a paper from the Cabinet of the Chancellor's composition, expressing a readiness to enter into the consideration of the Catholic question, and calling upon us for an explanation of the securities with which we propose to accompany the repeal of the present disqualifying laws. Into this kind of discussion we must not suffer ourselves to be led, and the sooner we can take favourable ground for breaking off all further negotiation the better.

"This explains the purpose for which the Cabinet, as stated by Auckland, was summoned."

LORD GRENVILLE to EARL GREY.

1812, May 25. Camelford House.—"I entirely agree with you that such a discussion must not be entered into. It is in fact proposing to us to place ourselves in the situation of *confidential* communication and discussion with men with whom there is no ground for such confidence, especially on that question. Our answer seems obviously to be that the question is one for the consideration of a Government actually formed and by no means for that of persons of whose taking office there is as yet no question on either side." *Copy.*

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, May 27. Hertford Street.—"I was sorry that you did not find me; you will have seen Lord Grey before you receive this and will have learnt from him that my predictions are advancing rapidly to fulfilment, with what detours and further marks of reluctance I do not pretend to conjecture. But there does not remain a reasonable doubt as to the final result, a few hours sooner or later.

"We dine quietly and I shall be left quite at liberty from seven o'clock till midnight and ready to attend you if you are likely to be alone in any hour of that period, in which case you will send a verbal message."

EARL GREY to THE SAME.

1812, May 28. Portman Square.—"I received the enclosed letter and papers from Lord Wellesley just as I was sitting down to dinner. In answering them I must of course be anxious to speak your opinion as well as my own, and I will call on you at any hour this evening that you will appoint to talk this matter over."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1812, May 29. Portman Square.—“The paper sent to me by Wellesley and Canning has been haunting me all night. The result of my ruminations is that I fear the sort of answer we propose to give might appear to want a proper frankness, and perhaps might subject me to the imputation of having brought forward with something like levity an observation which upon reflection I did not feel to be of much importance.

“I have therefore made another draught, which will be more satisfactory to my feelings upon this subject, if you see no objection. Pray return it as soon as you can, making of course any remarks or alterations which may appear to you to be useful.”

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1812, May 29. Hertford Street.—“The separate audiences yesterday were, as we had conjectured, for the purpose of a sort of indefinite ‘farewell.’ I have reason to believe that Lord Liverpool is making preparations to move with his family to Walmer in the course of next week.”

Private.—“I have also reason (from the very best authority) to believe that the state of the Treasury is such that till yesterday evening it was thought impracticable to go forwards beyond next Wednesday, but that it may be managed till Friday, when some step must be taken in the House of Commons. It is not immaterial that you should be aware of this, which, by the bye, is fully known at Carlton House.”

EARL GREY to THE SAME.

[1812, May 30.—Portman Square.]—“I have just received intelligence from a quarter that can admit of no doubt as to the fact that the P[rin]ce is in such a state of irritation that he cannot be spoken to and that Liverpool in the greatest consternation has sent an express for the Duke of York, who is at Oatlands.”

Private. LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1812, May 30. Hertford Street.—“I have privately thought much on the point which you confidentially talked of this morning, and am sure that it would be a calamity if you were to encourage such a notion, at least for the present. The whole enterprise may possibly be found to bear less on comfort and on health than we apprehend at this moment.

“We escape at half-past seven from the Duchess of Brunswick’s to Eden Farm. We mean to return to-morrow evening between nine and ten o’clock, and will drive direct to Camelford House.”

EARL GREY to THE SAME.

1812, May 31.—“I have just had the following intelligence from Carlton House, which I believe you may depend upon.

"Yesterday the Duke of York gave his opinion to the Prince in the most decided manner that he (the Prince) should waive his objections and send for you and me. The Prince was very angry: so much so as to forbid the Duke saying another word unless asked.

"McMahon shortly afterwards did exactly the same thing, and the Prince, after a warm rebuke, told him that the best answer he could give was that he had just quarrelled with his brother for giving the same advice.

"His present determination is to send to the House of Commons and express his hopes that they will not allow an Administration to be forced upon him by any connected political body whatever—I use the words in which the account is sent to me."

MINUTE OF A COMMUNICATION MADE BY LORD WELLESLEY
TO LORD GREY, AT LORD GREY'S HOUSE.

1812, June 1.—"Lord Wellesley stated that he had on that morning received full authority from the Prince Regent to form an Administration under his Royal Highness's commands, and that he was specially authorised to communicate with Lords Grey and Grenville on the subject.

"That his Royal Highness entertained no wish to exclude from the proposed Administration any person or description of persons who could unite in the principles on which the Administration was to be founded.

"That the two propositions stated in Lord Wellesley's minute of May 23rd (and subsequently explained in the letters which passed between Lord Wellesley and Lord Grey of the dates of the 27th, 28th and 29th of May, 1812) were intended by his Royal Highness to constitute the foundation of his Administration.

"That his Royal Highness had signified his pleasure that Lord Wellesley should conduct the formation of the Administration in all its branches and should be First Commissioner of the Treasury, and that Lord Moira, Lord Erskine and Mr. Canning should be members of the Cabinet.

"That it was probable that a Cabinet formed on an enlarged basis should be extended to the number of 12 or 13 members.

"That the Prince Regent wished Lords Grey and Grenville, on the part of their friends, to recommend for his Royal Highness's approval the names of four persons (if the Cabinet should consist of 12) and of five persons if the Cabinet should consist of 13 to be appointed by his Royal Highness to fill such stations in his councils as might hereafter be arranged.

"That his Royal Highness left the selection of the names to Lords Grey and Grenville without any exception or personal exclusion.

"That in completing the new arrangement the Prince Regent has granted to Lord Wellesley entire liberty to propose for his Royal Highness's approbation the names of any persons

now occupying stations in his Royal Highness's councils or of any other persons. That if the proposition made to Lords Grey and Grenville should be accepted, as the outline of an arrangement, all other matters would be discussed with the most anxious solicitude to promote harmony and general accommodation."—(*Signed*) WELLESLEY. *Copy.*

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, June 1. Hertford Street.—“If Lord Grey should have found time to write, my letter may be considered ‘*comme une chose non avenue*.’

“I called on him at half-past eleven this morning and found Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Tierney with him. He had just received a letter from Lord Moira, dated Sunday night, 11 o'clock. The substance of that letter was that Lord Moira rejoiced in having contributed to remove some impressions affecting the Prince's mind (in respect to Lord Grey more than to you), that he now had done away with all preliminary difficulties and was happy to think that Lord Wellesley would be immediately instructed to go to Lord Grey and to you, and he trusted that nothing could now arise on your parts to prevent the completion of an arrangement so essential to the most important interests of the Empire.

“Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Tierney left us under an understanding that they should prevent any unpleasant discussion to-day in the House of Commons. I remained with Lord Grey till past one o'clock in the expectation of his having tidings from Lord Wellesley, but nothing arrived. I then undertook to go again to Portland Place at half-past five. It probably will then be too late to write further by the post, but if anything should arise to call for your immediate return I will send an express. At all events, *rebus sic stantibus*, you will perhaps think it right to set off as immediately as may be practicable after receiving the post letters to-morrow morning.”

EARL GREY to THE SAME.

1812, June 1. Portman Square.—“Lord Wellesley has at last got an authority to proceed. He has been here, but I had unfortunately gone out about ten minutes before. I have since been at Apsley House, but did not find him at home, and I am now waiting here to know what he has to say. I hope you will come to town as early in the morning as you can. I will leave this open to the latest moment that the departure of the post will allow.

“I had written thus far when Wellesley came, and by what he has said he has made it necessary for me to send this by express, to beg that you will be here as soon as possible in the morning.

“He began by stating that the Prince had sent to him last night by Lord Moira and had given to him personally this morning a full authority to form a Government. That upon

his asking whether he was intended by the Prince to be the negotiator upon this occasion with others, or to be himself the person to *form* the Administration, the Prince answered that he wished him to *form* the Administration and to be First Lord of the Treasury, but this was a point Wellesley said that he must consider as open to settlement in the general arrangement, but that he thought it necessary to apprise me that the Prince had expressed such a wish. He then stated that the Prince intended that Lord Wellesley, Lord Moira, Lord Erskine and Mr. Canning should be four members of his Cabinet, and that if the Cabinet consisted of 13 that you and I should propose five names as members of it, if of 12 only four. He then proceeded to state that the Prince was also desirous that some of the members of the late Cabinets should be included, and he particularly mentioned Lord Eldon and Lord Melville. Upon this he asked my opinion. I answered that we were not yet in a situation to consider of a proposal of this nature, but that, acting on the principle of no personal exclusion, the considerations to be attended to in a case of this nature were whether the person proposed was one with whom there was such an agreement in principle and opinion as to afford a fair prospect of harmony in the Government, and, 2ndly, whether he was of weight and consequence enough to add strength to the Administration, clearly intimating an opinion that in one or other of these respects I did not see any advantage to be derived from uniting with either of the persons he had mentioned. To this he very readily assented as far as Lord Eldon was concerned, and said he should be disposed to recommend Sir William Grant or some other respectable lawyer for the Seals, but said something about the connections and power of Lord Melville. I put this matter aside, however, as one which in the present state of things we could not discuss.

“He then talked of the two principles, of the mode in which he should think the pledge I had stated to be necessary with respect to the Catholics should be given, and upon this point he stated that the Prince had desired that he would be very careful not to engage for anything more than a full and impartial consideration of the subject, adding however that he would not object to recommend to Parliament whatever his Cabinet should advise upon it. He (the Prince) also urged the necessity of something more explicit with respect to the war in the Peninsula, which Wellesley stated to be impossible under the present circumstances, and agreed with me that nothing more could be said than we had already said on that subject. This, I think, is the substance of what passed. I did not enter into any discussion on the two principles, desired that he would give me in writing, as he had done before, the proposition which he had been authorised to make to us, and promised to send an express to you immediately and to let him have our joint answers at as early an hour as possible

to-morrow. I concluded by telling him that till that answer was given I wished nothing to be considered as concluded, but that I could not conceal from him the strong impression I had conceived that it would be impossible for me to treat for the formation of a Government in the manner in which it had been proposed to me. I write in such haste, that this may reach you before you go to bed, that I fear I am hardly intelligible.

“He is to send me the written minute to-night (*see p. 276*), and I shall appoint a meeting of our friends at your house to-morrow at eleven.”

LORD GRENVILLE AND EARL GREY to MARQUIS
WELLESLEY.

1812, June 3. Camelford House.—“We have considered with the most serious attention the minute which we have had the honour to receive from your lordship and have communicated it to such of our friends as we have had the opportunity of consulting. On the occasion of a proposal made to us under the authority of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, we wish to renew in the most solemn manner the declaration of our unfeigned desire to have facilitated, as far as was in our power, the means of giving effect to the late vote of the House of Commons and of averting the imminent and unparalleled dangers of the country. No sense of the public distress and difficulty, no personal feelings of whatever description would have prevented us under such circumstances from accepting with dutiful submission any situations in which we could have hoped to serve his Royal Highness usefully and honourably.

“But it appears to us on the most dispassionate reflection that the proposal stated to us by your lordship cannot justify any such expectation. We are invited not to discuss with your lordship or with any other public men, according to the usual practice in such cases, the various and important considerations both of measures and arrangements which belong to the formation of a new Government in all its branches, but to recommend to his Royal Highness a number, limited by previous stipulation, of persons willing to be included in a Cabinet of which the outlines are already definitely arranged.

“To this proposal we could not accede without the sacrifice of that very object which the House of Commons has recommended, the formation of a strong and efficient Government. We enter not into the examination of the relative proportions or of the particular arrangements which it has been judged necessary thus previously to establish. It is to the principle of disunion and jealousy that we object; to the supposed balance of contending interests in a Cabinet so measured out by preliminary stipulation. The times imperiously require an Administration united in principle and strong in mutual reliance, possessing also the confidence

of the Crown and assured of its support in those healing measures which the public safety requires and which are necessary to secure to the Government the opinion and affections of the people. No such hope is presented to us by this project, which appears to us equally new in practice and objectionable in principle. It tends, as we think, to establish within the Cabinet itself a system of counter-action inconsistent with the prosecution of any uniform and beneficial course of policy. We must therefore request permission to decline all participation in a Government constituted on such principles, satisfied as we are that the certain loss of character to ourselves could be productive only of disunion and weakness in the administration of the public interests." *Copy.*

MARQUIS WELLESLEY TO EARL GREY AND LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, June 3. Apsley House.—“I received the letter by which I was honoured from your lordships this morning, with the most sincere regret, and I have discharged the painful duty of submitting it to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

“It would have afforded me some consolation if the continuance of the authority confided to me by his Royal Highness had enabled me under his Royal Highness’s commands to offer to your lordships a full and candid explanation of those points in my minute of the 1st of June which your lordships appear to me to have entirely misapprehended, but as his Royal Highness has been pleased to intimate to me his pleasure that the formation of a new Administration should be entrusted to other hands I have requested permission to decline all further concern in this transaction.

“I remain, however, extremely anxious to submit to your lordships some explanatory observations respecting the communications which I have had the honour to make to you, and I trust that your lordships will indulge me with that advantage although I can no longer address you under the sanction of the Prince Regent’s authority.” *Copy.*

THE EARL OF MOIRA TO EARL GREY.

1812, June 3.—“The answer which you and Lord Grenville have given to the proposal made by Lord Wellesley seems to throw an oblique imputation on me. Therefore I entreat your reconsideration of your statement as far as it may convey that impeachment of a procedure in which I was involved. You represent the proposition for an arrangement submitted to you as one calculated to found a Cabinet on a principle of counteraction. When the most material of the public objects which were to be the immediate ground of that Cabinet’s exertion had been previously understood between the parties, I own it is difficult for me to comprehend what principle of counteraction could be introduced. If there be any ambiguity, which does not strike me, in Lord Wellesley’s last paper, surely the construction ought to be sought in the antecedent com-

munications, and I think the basis on which those communications had announced the intended Cabinet to stand was perfectly clear. With regard to the indications of certain individuals, I can assert that it was a measure adopted through the highest spirit of fairness to you and your friends. Mr. Canning's name was mentioned because Lord Wellesley would have declined office without him, and it was a frankness to apprise you of it. Lord Erskine's and mine were stated with a view of shewing that Lord Wellesley, so far from having any jealousy to maintain a preponderance in the Cabinet, actually left a majority to those who had been accustomed to concur upon most public questions, and he specified Lord Erskine and myself that you might see the number submitted for your exclusive nomination was not narrowed by the necessity of advertence to us. The choice of an additional member of the Cabinet left to you must prove how undistinguishable we considered our interests and yours when this was referred to your determination as a mere matter of convenience, the embarrassment of a numerous Cabinet being well known. The reference to members of the late Cabinet or other persons was always to be coupled with the established point that they were such as could concur in the principles laid down as the foundation for the projected Ministry. And the statement was principally dictated by the wish to shew that no system of exclusion could interfere with the arrangements which the public service might demand. On the selections of those persons, I aver the opinions of you, Lord Grenville and the others whom you might bring forward as members of the Cabinet were to operate as fully as our own, and this was to be the case also with regard to subordinate offices. The expression that this was left to be proposed by Lord Wellesley was intended to prove that his Royal Highness did not even in the most indirect manner suggest any one of those individuals. It is really impossible that the spirit of fairness can have been carried farther than has been the intention in this negotiation. I therefore deeply lament that an arrangement so important for the country should go off upon points which I cannot but think wide of the substance of the case." *Copy.*

EARL GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1812, June 4. Portman Square.]—"I am very unwilling to trouble you, but I could not feel at ease in sending an answer to Lord Moira's letter unless it had your previous approbation.

"I have not been able quite to please myself. There are some parts of the letter to which I should have been inclined to give a more particular answer, but it would have led me into too much length and perhaps involved us in further discussion, which, in the present state of the matter, it seems to me desirable to avoid. On the other hand, I hope what

I have written will not bear the character of too peremptory a rejection of an attempt at explanation. I send you Moira's letter with my *brouillon*, as you may perhaps wish to refer to it. Pray return both as soon as you can, as I am anxious to despatch the answer."

EARL GREY to THE EARL OF MOIRA.

1812, June 4.—"Being obliged to go immediately from the House of Lords to a dinner engagement, and afterwards to a meeting at Lord Grenville's which occupied me till a late hour, it was not in my power to answer your letter last night.

"You must be too well aware of my personal feelings towards you, of my esteem for your character, and of my confidence in your honour, to imagine it possible for me to entertain any opinion respecting your conduct inconsistent with those sentiments. Nothing therefore could be more remote from my intention, and I am desired by Lord Grenville, to whom I have shown your letter, to give you the same assurance on his part, than to cast any imputation whatever on you as to the part you have borne in the proceedings which have lately taken place for the formation of a new Administration. We know with how sincere an anxiety for the honour of the Prince and for the public interests you have laboured to effect that object.

"Whatever objections we may feel therefore to the proposal which has been made to us, we beg they may be understood as having no reference whatever to any part of your conduct. That proposal was conveyed to us in a formal and authorised communication made by Lord Wellesley both personally to me and afterwards in a written minute. It appeared to us to be founded upon a principle to which we could not assent, consistently with our honour and with a just sense of public duty. The grounds of our opinion have been distinctly stated in our joint letter to Lord Wellesley, nor can anything be altered by a private explanation which, though it might lessen some obvious objections to a part of the detail, still leaves the general character of the proceeding unchanged.

"Nothing could be more painful to me than to enter into anything like a controversial discussion with you in which I could only repeat more at large the same feelings and opinions which in concurrence with Lord Grenville I have already expressed in our formal answer.

"I beg only to assure you before I conclude that I have felt very sensibly and shall always have a pleasure in acknowledging your personal kindness to me in the course of this transaction." *Copy.*

THE SAME to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, June 4. Portman Square.—"I found on my return home the enclosed letter from Lord Wellesley. I suppose it

will only be necessary, as he refers to Lord Moira's letter to me, to refer on our part to my answer. But I wish in the first place to know whether you think any notice should be taken of the paragraph in his letter which states that neither he nor Lord Moira had any authority from the Prince to give this explanation or to open any further communication with us ; and 2dly, whether I can avoid without incivility a return to the wish expressed for an opportunity of renewing a conciliatory intercourse. I should wish if possible to say nothing upon this part of his letter, which seems to be intended to draw something from me on which a new proposition might be founded."

Enclosure :

MARQUIS WELLESLEY to EARL GREY.

1812, June 4.—“When I applied to your lordship and Lord Grenville for permission to submit to you some explanatory observations respecting the communications which I have had the honour to make to you by the authority of the Prince Regent, I was not aware that Lord Moira had addressed a letter to your lordship of the same nature as that which I was desirous of conveying to you.

“The form of such a letter, either from Lord Moira or me, must have been private, as neither of us possessed any authority from the Prince Regent to open any further communication with your lordship or with Lord Grenville, a circumstance which I deeply lament under a sanguine hope that additional explanations sanctioned by authority might have removed the existing obstacles to an amicable arrangement.

“Lord Moira has sent me a copy of his letter to your lordship of yesterday's date, and as it contains an accurate, clear and candid statement of the real objects of the proposal which I conveyed to you, it appears to me to have furnished you with as full an explanation as can be given in an unauthorised paper.

“Under these circumstances it might be deemed superfluous trouble to your lordship and to Lord Grenville to solicit your attention to a private letter from me, although I should be most happy if any opportunity were afforded of renewing a conciliatory intercourse, under the commands of the Prince Regent, with a view to attain the object of our recent communication.” *Copy.*

EARL GREY to MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

1812, June 4.—“I have had the honour of receiving your lordship's letter of this day's date.

“As Lord Moira has communicated to your lordship a copy of his letter to me, I take it for granted that you have, in the same manner, been put in possession of my answer, which contains all that I can say on the subject of his explanation of the proposal made by your lordship to Lord Grenville and myself.

"I was perfectly aware that Lord Moira's letter could in no degree be considered as an authorised communication, but that it was simply a private explanation offered for the purpose of removing the objections which had been stated by Lord Grenville and me to the proposal contained in the minute transmitted to us by your lordship under the authority of the Prince Regent.

"But though it could not vary the effect of that minute, I was happy to receive it as an expression of personal regard and of that desire which we readily acknowledge both in your lordship and Lord Moira, and which is reciprocal on the part of Lord Grenville and myself, that no difference of opinion on the matter in question should produce on either side any personal impression which might obstruct the renewal of a conciliatory intercourse whenever a more favourable opportunity shall be afforded for it." *Copy.*

MINUTE SENT BY THE EARL OF MOIRA, THROUGH THE DUKE OF BEDFORD, TO LORD GRENVILLE AND EARL GREY.

1812, June 5. Half-past three, afternoon.—"Lord Moira presents his best compliments to Earl Grey and Lord Grenville. Since Lord Wellesley has declared his commission from the Prince Regent to be at an end, Lord Moira (as being honoured with his Royal Highness's confidence) ventures to indulge the anxiety he feels that an arrangement of the utmost importance for the interests of the country should not go off on any misunderstanding.

"He, therefore, entreats Earl Grey and Lord Grenville to advert to the explanatory letter of the 3rd of June written by him to the former, and, if the dispositions therein expressed shall appear to them likely to lead upon conference to any advantageous result towards co-operation in the Prince's service, he will be happy to have an interview with them. Should the issue of that conversation prove such as he would hope, his object would be to solicit the Prince Regent's permission to address them formally. He adopts this mode to preclude all difficulties in the outset.

"Let him be permitted to remark that the very urgent pressure of public affairs renders the most speedy determination infinitely desirable."

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE EARL OF MOIRA.

1812, June 5. House of Lords.—"As you expressed so much anxiety to receive an early answer to the paper delivered to us by the Duke of Bedford, we have considered it before we left this place. We are sorry that your having left the House has prevented our delivering it to you personally, but we lose no time in leaving it at your house in our way home." *Holograph copy.*

*Enclosure :*ANSWER OF LORD GRENVILLE AND EARL GREY TO THE
EARL OF MOIRA'S MINUTE.

1812, June 5.—“We cannot but feel highly gratified by the kindness of the motive on which Lord Moira acts. Personal communication with him will always be acceptable and honourable to us. But we hope he will be sensible that no advantage is likely to result from pursuing this subject by unauthorised discussion and in a course so different from the usual practice.

“Motives of obvious delicacy must prevent our taking any step towards determining the Prince Regent to authorise Lord Moira to address us personally. We shall always receive with dutiful submission his Royal Highness's commands in whatever manner and through whatever channel he may be graciously pleased to signify them, and we trust we shall never be found wanting in zeal for his service and for the public interests. But we cannot venture to suggest to his Royal Highness through any other person our opinions on points on which his Royal Highness is not pleased to require our advice.” *Copy.*

THE EARL OF MOIRA TO EARL GREY AND LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, June 6.—“Lord Moira presents his best compliments to Lord Grey and Lord Grenville. Discouraged as he must unavoidably be, he yet cannot reconcile it to himself to leave any effort untried, and he adopts their principle for an interview, though he doubts if the desired conclusion is likely to be so well advanced by it as would have been the case in the mode suggested by him.

“He has now the Prince Regent's instructions to take steps towards the formation of a Ministry, and is authorised specially to address himself to Lords Grey and Grenville. It is therefore his request to know when and where he can wait upon them. He would wish to bring Lord Erskine with him.”

LORD AUCKLAND TO LORD GRENVILLE.

[1812, June 7.] Eden Farm.—“I have strong doubts whether Lord Wellesley's motion is calculated either to facilitate the prompt and full success of the measure in question or in the meantime to conciliate the Irish. But the Ministerial incompetency will be displayed, if any further proofs of it were wanting, and they will prorogue, committed against a majority of the Commons on a point of essential importance, and equally committed against the professed wishes and principles of their royal employer; and yet they will be kept in office by the Commons and by him for the sake of keeping Lord Hertford and his son.

“The war in the Peninsula continues in all the activity of a corroding cancer, the mischief of which will never be acknowledged till too late to be remedied.

"I am not edified by the language of our Opposition friends on the revocation of the Orders in Council. It should have been a language not of praise for what is now extorted by the effect of public distress, but of censure and impeachment for the stupidity and obstinacy of the system which caused that distress. Besides, I cannot feel confident that the order of revocation is so expressed as to give satisfaction to the United States. It stands liable to the objection that we reserve a right and a claim to renew the control and confiscation of the innocent commerce of neutrals."

EARL GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, June 7. Portman Square.—"I enclose Lord Somers' letter which I forgot to give you yesterday. I also enclose a fair copy of the minute.

"I think you should have a general meeting of Peers to-night or to-morrow morning. These are not pleasant evening entertainments, but they are necessary, and I hope we shall not have many more.

"I hear Erskine, though lamenting very much that the thing had gone off, talked yesterday night of the impossibility of his taking office without us."

Enclosure :

MINUTE OF A CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE EARLS OF MOIRA AND GREY AND LORD GRENVILLE, AT WHICH LORD ERSKINE WAS PRESENT.

1812, June 6. St. James's Place.—"Lord Moira stated to Lord Grey and Lord Grenville that he was authorised by the Prince Regent to consult with them on the formation of a new Government, and satisfactory explanations having taken place between them respecting such measures as appeared to be of the greatest urgency at the present moment, more especially with reference to the situation of his Majesty's Catholic subjects, and the differences now unhappily subsisting with America, and that Lord Moira had received this commission without any restriction or limitation whatever being laid by the Prince on their considering any points which they judged useful for his service; they expressed their satisfaction with the fairness of this proposal and their readiness to enter into such discussions as must precede the details of any new arrangement. As a preliminary question, which appeared to them of great importance, and which they thought it necessary immediately to bring forward, to prevent the inconvenience and embarrassment of the further delay which might be produced if this negotiation should break off in a more advanced state, they asked whether this full liberty extended to the consideration of new appointments to those great offices of the Household which have been usually included

in the political arrangements made on a change of Administration, intimating their opinion that it would be necessary to act on the same principle on the present occasion. Lord Moira answered that the Prince had laid no restriction upon him in that respect and had never pointed in the most distant manner at the protection of those officers from removal; that it would, however, be impossible for him (Lord Moira) to concur in making the exercise of this power positive and indispensable in the formation of the Administration because he should deem it on public grounds peculiarly objectionable. To this Lord Grey and Lord Grenville replied they also acted on public grounds alone and with no other feeling whatever than that which arose from the necessity of giving to a new Government that character of efficiency and stability and those marks of the constitutional support of the Crown which were required to enable it to act usefully for the public service, and that on these grounds it appeared to them indispensable that the connection of the great offices of the Court with the political administration should be clearly established in its first arrangements. A decided difference of opinion as to this point having been thus expressed on both sides, the conversation ended here with mutual declarations of regret. Nothing was said on the subject of official arrangements nor any persons proposed on either side to fill any particular situations."

Private. MARQUIS WELLESLEY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, June 8. Apsley House.—“Having been absent from town at some distance, I did not receive your kind note until late last night, and I was not able to communicate it to Mr. Canning until a few minutes ago.

“We are very sensible of your flattering attention to our sincere anxiety for the success of Lord Moira’s communications with you and your friends, and we request you to accept our best acknowledgments for this testimony of your regard.

“While we deeply lament the failure of Lord Moira’s explanation, we think it is due to the candour and honour of your conduct towards us to add that our regret on this occasion is much augmented by the impossibility of our concurring in opinion with you on the unfortunate point of difference which has arisen between you and Lord Moira.

“It might appear disrespectful and even presumptuous to express our sentiments to you in this unreserved manner on a question which you have not referred to us and on which we possess no right to obtrude our opinions upon you in this private form, but we trust to the frankness of your own disposition under a confident expectation that you will acquit us of any other motive than the desire of making a just return for the fair and open communication which we have received from you through the whole course of these transactions.”

EARL GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, June 10. Portman Square.—“Lord Moira spoke to me in the House of Lords about bringing on a discussion on our late negotiations, and has proposed Tuesday for that purpose, if it suits your convenience. It will be necessary to consider in what manner we should proceed.

“Wortley’s motion is one, according to the account I have heard of it, for which it is impossible that our friends should vote. How it is to be dealt with is a consideration of some difficulty, and I have written to George Ponsonby to beg he will communicate with you on the subject. I will attend you whenever you please and I think it would be advantageous to assemble our usual Cabinet upon it.

“I wish you would send George Ponsonby copies of (1) Canning’s minute to Liverpool; (2) the joint explanation of it by Wellesley and Canning; and (3) my answer. These papers he must have for to-morrow’s debate, and I have no fair copies of them.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1812, June 15. Portman Square.—“I saw Lord Moira last night, when he told me that he had fixed Friday for our discussion. I should have preferred Wednesday, only because it is an earlier day, but as he told me he had already apprized you of this new arrangement I said nothing against it. How he is to introduce this business I am yet to learn.

“Lord Temple and his brother are gone out of town, declaring that they will not come back for Canning’s motion. I think this would be wrong, and I wish you would use your influence to bring them back again. Whatever we may feel respecting Canning’s conduct, we ought not to let it appear to affect our conduct on a question of such vital importance. To Canning’s motion as now framed I see no objection, except that I think it would be better to omit the clause of ‘security to the Protestant establishment in Church and State.’ This is an objection, however, which could not be stated in public, and I am afraid he will be found too impracticable to admit of any hope of its being removed by previous explanation in private. I have recommended it to George Ponsonby to try.

“I hear nothing new. The publication of the correspondence and the observations which have been made upon it are, I am told, producing an effect favourable for us in the public opinion.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1812, June 24. Portman Square.—“You will have seen in the newspapers the notice given yesterday by Wellesley of a motion similar to Canning’s for this day se’nnight. I wish it had been in other hands, but it seems to me clearly necessary that we should give it a fair support, and indeed I

expressed myself to that effect yesterday, stating only that by pledging ourselves to the consideration of the laws affecting the Catholics, my meaning was that we should take effectual steps for their repeal, and indulging a little in the triumph to which we have a right, considering the present state of the public opinion upon this question as compared with what it was five years ago. I enclose a list of peers for you to write to, if they cannot attend, to send their proxies.

"The Orders in Council are revoked at last, as they ought to have been long ago, and instead of giving the Ministers unqualified credit, as Brougham did yesterday, for what they have now done, I should be much inclined to charge them with the responsibility which rests on them for all the evils which have been produced by their persevering in this system so long. But inconsistency and meanness seem at present to afford the surest means of obtaining the support of the Parliament, as well as the favour of the Court. As to the House of Commons, its degradation is complete. In short, the whole scene is so disgusting that I feel no wish but to retire from it entirely."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1812, June 27. Portman Square.—"I intended to have written to you yesterday, but was too late for the post, merely to say that I am going out of town this morning till Monday, and to beg that if you have any directions to give in the meantime respecting votes or proxies for Wednesday you will be so good as to send them to Lauderdale or Rosslyn.

"Many think we shall carry the question, which is in terms the same as Canning's, and though I may think this more doubtful, I believe the division will be very close. The Ministers in the House of Lords are supposed to be equally divided. Mulgrave, Camden, Westmoreland, Melville and Harrowby for the question; Liverpool, Sidmouth, Buckinghamshire, Bathurst and the Chancellor against it. The bishops, I understand, will all be against it.

"I was very sorry to hear yesterday at Lord Spencer's that Lord Buckingham was so ill. I hope in your answer to this that you will be able to inform me of his being better. Pray remember me to him very kindly."

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1812, July 8. Eden Farm.—"The consolidated surplus for the quarter ending 5th July, 1810, was 644,000*l*. The deficiency for the quarter 5th July [? 1811] was 14,800*l*. The deficiency for the quarter to the 5th instant is 372,000*l*.

"It is true that a large export is taking place from Liverpool to the United States and that orders are sent for the return to be in great measure made in wheat (which may be wanted).

"We have been far too mild respecting the foolish, criminal

and calamitous obstinacy of those who so long suffered themselves to be misled by Mr. Stephens.

"I hear little of the great public affairs of the world and am not at present solicitous to hear more."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1812, July.] Cleveland Square.—"I have just seen Lord Lansdown, who tells me that Lord Fitzwilliam had asked his opinion and was desirous of collecting that of others as to the propriety of his encouraging the growing disposition in Yorkshire to petition against the American war, and Lord Fitzwilliam added that he believed he could turn the scale either way. Lord Lansdown told me that he had said that for himself he had no hesitation in wishing to discourage all such petitions upon the same ground on which he should have resisted Whitbread's amendment, because petitions of this nature will only serve to make America more impracticable and domineering as to terms of peace. Lord Lansdown wished me to mention this to you in the hope that you will write to Fitzwilliam, who has left London.

"I said all I could to confirm and to strengthen Lord Lansdown in this view of the subject, which I think the right one, and I shall hold the same language to-day at Lord Milton's, where I dine.

"Lady Holland says that Lord Holland has received a letter very quickly from Cadiz, though she forgets the date, saying that Lord Wellington had advanced *back* upon his pursuing enemy and had forced him to recross the Tormes. This is good, because it shows that Soult had not yet joined Marmont, if Wellington could attack his pursuers."

Postscript.—"Lord Lansdown spoke very distantly of his visit to Dropmore as being *at some time before Christmas*."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1812, August 1-10.] Ryde.—"I enclose you a letter which I believe may be entirely depended upon as to the late negotiation of Canning. *Do not quote the writer's name and return me the letter.* It is quite evident to me that this has been a separate intrigue between the Prince and Canning, and though it has failed *in presenti* I feel quite persuaded that it will be renewed with better success. The Prince and this ex-Minister are well met in their love of little contrivances, and, for the mere sake of mischief, I own I am sorry the proposed arrangement did not take place, for it would have afforded fine sport in the House of Commons to have had a daily question between Castlereagh and Canning of whose turn it was to lead. They seem to be ignorant of the old proverb which had so long ago informed us that 'when two men ride a horse one must ride behind.' I think Ward's conduct so unsatisfactory, his mind so irregular, and his pre-

tensions and caprices so troublesome that I do not regret his desertion, and am not displeased to see that, in doing a disgraceful act, he is sensible to the ridicule and disgrace which he incurs; but if I had been Abercrombie I would not have charged myself with a communication that was to save Ward from writing a letter which he knew not how to indite."

EARL GREY to THE SAME.

1812, August 19. Howick.—“You will of course have seen the letter lately published by Lord Yarmouth, with the accompanying document, and have felt upon it as I did. Upon the extraordinary nature of this proceeding, upon the moment chosen for the publication or upon the publishing of a paper of this description at all, without permission to do so, it is unnecessary to trouble you with any remarks. But I am anxious that you should consider whether it is necessary for us to take any and what steps to obviate the false and scandalous use which has been endeavoured to be made of it. I have here no papers, except those which were published, to refer to. But I think I cannot be mistaken in my recollection of the true character of this paper and of the circumstances under which it was written. It is obviously in the style of a minute for consideration and must at once appear to any person who reads it with attention not to be in the terms of an *instruction*. A Secretary of State in writing to a Foreign Minister does not send pros and cons in separate columns with an unformed and uncertain opinion at the end. If he states opposite considerations, he applies to each, as the case may arise, a separate instruction, or he balances and decides upon them, directing the line to be pursued. But he acts differently in pressing questions for the consideration of his colleagues, and this according to my memory was the character of the paper in question. It was drawn up after Fox's illness had prevented his attending our Cabinets, was dictated by him to Vincent and was nothing more than a statement of his opinion for the consideration of the Cabinet with reference to the dispatch which was then to be written to Lord Yarmouth. The dispatch of the 18th of July was written by you, and when referring to it you will see that the policy recommended by Fox was kept in view. In this dispatch, and nowhere else, is the authority under which Lord Yarmouth was to act to be found, and it is a little extraordinary, whatever influence the delicacy for which he is so remarkable might have had in more public discussions, that in answer to the censure which was pretty freely expressed of his production of his full powers, he should not have endeavoured to justify himself in this pretended authority or have urged its being laid before Parliament with the other papers of the negotiation. But, in truth, it contains no such authority any more than the dispatch which he received at the same time. How it was sent to him or by whom I know not. Probably in a private

letter by Sir Francis Vincent. If this is so, there can be nothing more false and scandalous than the manner in which he has now given it to the public.

"We certainly cannot enter into a newspaper controversy with Yarmouth on a subject of this nature. But yet I cannot think it would be right to suffer it to pass without observation. I have written to-day to Holland about it, and have desired him to consult you as to what should be done. The best way, I think, would be to get such animadversions made upon it in the Opposition papers as may appear fairly to arise upon the paper itself as compared with the dispatches, and on the time and manner of its publication, without their appearing to come from us who were parties in the transaction.

"We have received the general account confirming Lord Wellington's victory, but not the official dispatches. It is clear, however, that it must have been quite decisive, and it certainly does open a prospect of more favourable consequences both in Spain and in the North than could a few months ago have been reasonably looked for. I suppose there is no bounds to the exultation of the Prince and his Ministers. The former, I have no doubt, has by this time nearly convinced himself that he won the battle in person. Is it not probable that this event, which they will be anxious to use in its newest gloss, may encourage them to try a dissolution? They will, of course, be now less anxious for a junction with Canning or any other person. Do you know any of the particulars respecting that negotiation? I have heard little or nothing, but what surprised me a good deal, and certainly came from the best authority, that Wellesley was no party to it.

"We have hitherto had a wretched cold summer, but very little rain, in which respect we appear to have been better off than you have been in the South. The wheat crops look better than I ever remember to have seen them, but they are not over ripe, and if the harvest is not favourable the distress will be very great, as we have nothing left in the country."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, August 23. Ryde.—"Our Consul to Virginia (Hamilton) arrived here yesterday in a flag of truce from the *Delaware*; he says (as does Mr. Foster) that the revocation of the Orders in Council will not prevent the war, but they both agree that America is very ill prepared and so torn with party violence that nothing effectual will be done save by privateering, and our cruisers have fortunately captured a large number of the vessels that were returning from Cadiz and Lisbon with dollars, wine and salt in exchange for the corn hurried out by the American embargo. Above 100 sail of prizes were brought into Halifax in the course of the first 14 days, which had created a great sensation in the American ports. It is feared that many of our ships are taken, but

the Leeward Island and Jamaica fleets appear to be safe. They were safe on the 15th July.

"I am better since my arrival here, but am weak on my limbs and unequal to any exercise."

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1812, August 25. Eden Farm.—"One would like at least to know 'that they are alive and well at Dropmore.' Words to that effect have long been the daily burden of our song, and it would gratify us if Lady Grenville or you would remove all doubts on the subject. I take for granted that you are not at Boconnoc. The newspapers announce that your Cornish steward is married, and that the pilchard fishery is prosperous.

"We have walked and talked through the last two months healthfully and rationally, almost entirely within the precincts of this place and Langley, and with little society except in the occasional visits of our married daughters and their families. Our morning rides derive an interest at present from a new and very desirable addition to the farm. I had long coveted it in silence, and have at last by chance obtained it till the year 1858, beyond which period I cannot feel any urgent anxieties. Our hay harvest was good; the wheat crops are now moving from the fields into the barns and are much better than last year, but not abundant in this neighbourhood. I apprehend that the high prices of grain will be continued unless the American trade can be re-opened.

"I am at present under serious alarm respecting my eldest brother, who is in great danger in consequence of some slight surgical operation. He was too ill to see George Eden, who called on him on Thursday last, in the road from Howick to this place. George had gone from the northern circuit to Howick for a week and gives a good account of Lord Grey's health and domestic life.

"I am unwilling to turn my pen to public subjects. Marmont's unaccountable folly has given a fortunate brilliancy to Lord Wellington's campaign, which was leading to a lame and impotent conclusion. But I cannot keep pace with the sanguine and triumphant exultations of the Prince Regent and his Ministers, and indeed of our countrymen in general. More battles must be risked, more blood must be spilt, the boundless and distressing expenditure must be greater than ever, and further campaigns must be prepared. Add to all this the new and incalculable drains from Russia and from America.

"The prospects in the North of Europe do not offer any reasonable hope of benefit, and our infatuated war with the United States is likely to go forwards. On the whole I see our home predicament with entire disgust and indignation, and our foreign speculations with dismay and despair. But this tone is unfashionable. Fashions, however, are changeable.

“The diversion on the eastern coast of Spain is directed in the first instance to Tarragona. Lord Wellington is to have 100,000*l.* with the Marquisate.

“In the last negotiation Mr. Canning consented to give the lead in the House of Commons to Lord Castlereagh on condition that the latter should be Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord Wellesley was offered by Mr. Canning for Ireland. The arrangement failed and with ill-humour on both sides.”

EARL GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, August 29. Howick.—“I still cannot help thinking, as the meeting of Parliament is so distant, that some observations on Yarmouth’s publication, without the appearance of their coming from authority, would have been useful. Indeed, if the editors of the papers who profess to support us had been good for anything, this would have been done without any suggestion from us. But the thing is now so stale that it may perhaps be as well to wait for what I should have thought the best opportunity of doing ourselves justice, had Parliament been sitting or likely to meet soon, and not even to publish any notice. I see now even no objection to that which you propose, if you continue to think it advisable to insert it in any of the papers. Holland does not seem to think it necessary to do anything, but in this feeling I cannot agree with him.

“If Buonaparte can bring the Russian war to a speedy and successful termination, I agree with you that it will not be difficult for him to recover the ground he has lost in Spain. But if he is obliged to winter in Poland and to prepare for a new campaign at so great a distance next year I think it certainly possible to drive the French across the Ebro, that is if the Spaniards can only be roused to a moderate degree of exertion in their own cause; but I must admit that you have from experience but too just a cause for the doubts you express on this subject.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1812, August 31. Ryde.—“I have no regrets for you, and Burnham Beeches must console you for Bury Hill, as you cannot have both; all the affairs of human life are confined to options, and the best science in it is to learn how to make those options wisely, which in the present instance you seem to me to have done with most entire success.

“I think with you that Yarmouth must hear a little more of his diplomatic vanities, though I know not what notice can or need be given to him, unless Grey writes him a line to apprise him of a future motion for papers.

“The best answer to the ostentatious nonsense of Moira’s and Yarmouth’s letters would be by such newspaper ridicule as would in former times have been provoked by both these precious compositions, but there seems to be no wit or

pleasantry left to the periodical papers, and therefore these political Pistols play their mountebank tricks with impunity."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1812, September 6. Ryde.—"I write a hurried line before I go to take leave of Lord Spencer, who is going to Northampton races and does not return till October.

"Tierney came here for a day and confirmed by his opinion the information that I had received from Wickham of near approaching dissolution.

"In conversing upon this with my brother, I found him as much persuaded as I was that it was much better for Shipley to be a country gentleman than to be in the London clubs, where he has not the command of himself against the dangers of play that he ought to have. My brother was therefore much inclined not to keep St. Mawe's for Shipley, but to offer it to Tierney, an inclination which I was very glad to encourage, because on many accounts I thought such an arrangement very desirable. With my brother's sanction, therefore, and under his direction I made this offer to Tierney; Tierney was much pleased and gratified and I think will accept it, but he felt himself obliged to ask some time before he gives a final answer, as he thinks he owes it to the Duke of Devonshire to have some more previous explanation with him, and he is in Ireland. The Duke, it seems, spoke to Tierney very lately of his wish to make some agreement with Lord Bandon which might enable him to re-elect Tierney, but though Tierney thinks this unlikely, he cannot handsomely towards the Duke engage himself to Lord Buckingham without previous explanation with the Duke. He has promised to write to my brother finally at Boconnoc. We go from hence on 14th and shall be with you as we intended."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1812, September 10. Ryde.—"Temple yesterday had a letter from Fremantle, who says that the talk of dissolution rather loses ground among the Ministerial people, some of whom disclaim all belief of it; perhaps, however, this may only be a *ruse de guerre*, and I confess I should still rather wager for it than against it. I am very glad that the offer to Tierney appears to you as desirable as it did to me, and whether it be accepted or no, I am well pleased that the offer is made. Either D[ardis] was misinformed or his master has altered his mind, for he has remained at Cowes with the two ladies who have consoled him for the desertion of Poll Raffle to the more prevailing *agrément* of Westmoreland's protection.

"Fremantle expresses a doubt of what language he should hold to Charles Ellis, whom he is to meet for three or four days at a friend's house in the country. I have ventured to suggest that little need be said where so little seems to be

asked ; the ex-secretary and his friends make no other demonstrations than what are intended to alarm the Ministers into the expediency of making room for them, and I do not see what we have to do in so uninteresting a system of politics ; my advice, therefore, is to say nothing at all to them ; they will come towards us whenever they think it for their interest to do so, and they will as certainly go from us for the same honourable and prevailing reasons."

COUNT WORONZOW to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, October 13. London.—"Votre lettre m'est d'une grande consolation. L'intérêt que vous et votre digne épouse, que je regarde parmi mes meilleurs amis, prenez au sujet de mon fils me touche sensiblement. La blessure de mon fils n'a rien d'inquiétant, la balle qui s'étoit logée dans sa cuisse a été extraite et l'os n'est pas endommagée. C'est à la bataille de Borodino, le sept Septembre, qu'il a été blessé. Il commandoit une division de plus de six mille grenadiers, et c'est en chargeant avec eux à la bayanette qu'il fut blessé. Il a été aussi à l'affaire du cinq Septembre, nouveau stil ; car il est de l'armée du Prince Bagration, et sa place étoit à l'aile gauche de l'ordre de bataille où s'étoit porté toute la force de Bonaparte, qui voulait la détruire ou la chasser de sa position, après quoi notre armée auroit été complètement défaite ; mais c'est le Corsse lui-même qui, après avoir combattu depuis quatre heures du matin jusqu' à dix du soir, s'est retiré, et nous a laissé le champ de bataille. Voilà le seul fruit du sang qui a été répandu ; car quelque jours après le Corsse est entré à Moscou. C'est parceque nous avons été, et nous sommes toujours, inférieure en nombre, quoiqu'au centre de notre propre pays ; et Bonaparte, qui est venu de trois cents lieux, a plus de troupes que nous, quoique le pays paye l'entretien de plus de 600 milles hommes. La raison de cela est que l'administration est entre les mains des ignorants, des imbécils, mais bons courtisans, et pour cela bien favorisés.

"Le massacre à Borodino fut inoui ; du corp du Prince Bagration, qui étoit de trente mille, il n'est resté que huit mille. La division des grenadiers de Michel étoit de ce corp, et il ne lui en est resté qu'environ mille, de plus de six mille qu'elle avoit avant la bataille. La prise de Moscou est un malheur, mais cela ne ruine pas la Russie. Il n'y a que la continuation de notre misérable ministère, et un paix faite avec le Corsse dans les circonstances actuelle, qui abîmeront ma pauvre patrie, digne d'un meilleur sort."

Private. LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1812, October 27. Eden Farm.—"I learnt at Camelford House that you were expected from Cornwall at Dropmore on Saturday last.

"You have been at a happy distance from all the agitations

of the general election. My share of it has been sufficiently annoying. George Eden had apparently the choice of three certain seats, and he is likely after all to be altogether excluded. At Oxford (where, by the bye, Lord Eldon's friends shewed active ill-will) he failed by a very few votes, and evidently by the want of an earlier declaration and exertion on the part of his friends. The manner in which he was solicited to that contest with a (written) promise of Woodstock in any eventual failure left him no choice consistently with what is due to an old friendship and past obligations.

"I now have great doubts whether there will be a power of decision equal to the opening of Woodstock, more especially as on the close of the Oxford poll an order was given handsomely and immediately to purchase a seat. I have strong objections to such a mode and expense being incurred in support of a political line systematically adverse to the line of the purchaser, and I have communicated this objection frankly and clearly. In the meantime, though I deeply lament that George is thrown out of a career in which, both from general disposition and from his appearance, speeches and conduct at Oxford, he was likely to be distinguished, I have learnt to think that such matters are among the minor misfortunes of life. He had no concern with the conveyance of votes or the general expense; still the details were necessarily such as to be somewhat inconvenient every way and very vexatious in the result. By way of refreshment he is now on the road to Roxburghshire (370 miles) to vote for Gilbert Elliot.

"As to the public predicament it is, conformably to Dean Swift's construction of the old motto '*semper idem*,' 'from bad to worse.' Lord Wellington is consuming men and money, and indeed wasting his army without attaining any conclusive advantage, and there is every prospect of another campaign. The Russian Empire is cut up, but Lord Cathcart and the *Courier* assure us that Buonaparte will be *Burgoyne'd*, *Cornwallis'd*, *Hilder'd* and *Hull'd*, and undoubtedly the long line of posts from the Dwina to Moskow would form a fearful position to any other general.

"The revenue fell off 1,200,000*l.* in the last quarter. The apparent increase of the Customs was caused by the sugar duties in the distillery operations.

Total year's revenue to 10th October, 1812 .. 60,814,000*l.*

" " " " 1811 .. 60,905,000*l.*

Here there is a general falling off equal to whatever ought to have been the produce of new taxes. The general expenditure of this year will be above 110,000,000*l.*

"We are talking of a visit to Shottesbrook, to the Dean of Christ Church and to Blenheim about the 12th of this month. Would it suit Lady Grenville and you to receive us with Mary and Emily for two or three nights either about the 12th or about the 23rd? When I know how you are circumstanced I will fix accordingly.

"I have *private* reason to believe that at the date of Lord Cathcart's rosy-coloured despatch the Emperor Alexander was in a panic for the safety even of Petersburg, and many valuables were removing, and there were symptoms of a disposition to send away all the ships of war to England for the winter."

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, October 28. Eden Farm.—"With all due deference to the changes and chances of mortal life, it would best suit our plans to be permitted to arrange with Lady Grenville and you to arrive at Dropmore from Blenheim on Monday, the 23rd November. On Tuesday, the 24th, I should probably go at a very early hour to Westminster on some details as Deputy Great Chamberlain, to save to Lord Gwydir a journey from Bath, and I should return before four to Dropmore, and we would remain there till the Thursday morning, when we mean to re-settle here.

"I have a letter this morning from an official correspondent who writes: 'Our Spanish accounts certainly fall far short of our expectations. As to Russia, we have to-day a despatch from Riga which states that Buonaparte had marched out of Moscow to give battle to Kutusow or to force him to a further retreat.' "

EARL GREY to THE SAME.

1812, November 1. Howick.—"I deferred answering your letter till, according to my calculation, you would be returned to Dropmore, where I hope this will find you.

"I have been here as completely disengaged from the bustle of the new elections as you describe yourself to have been in Cornwall. Whatever the result may be, therefore, it cannot be ascribed to any management of ours. I am told we shall stand nearly as we did before as to numbers. In the quality of our force I am afraid we shall lose. Romilly, Brougham, Horner, W. Lamb, Thorp and Tierney will make a sad vacancy in our first and second ranks. I hear, however, that the three first are likely to find openings after the meeting of Parliament; indeed, I have had an opportunity of offering Brougham the charge of a petition for the Stirling Boroughs, of the success of which, if he thinks it worth his while to try it, there can be little or no doubt. For this I am indebted to the kindness of Lauderdale. For Tierney no arrangement has yet been made, and I cannot cease to regret his having declined Lord Buckingham's very friendly offer, which he did directly against my opinion.

"It cannot be necessary for me to make any propositions with regard to Charles Wynne. Independently of his close connection with you, I have a personal regard and esteem for him which would have prompted me to use every exertion in my power to assist his views as to the Speakership, had

there been an opening. No man can be more eminently qualified than he is for that situation in every respect but one. But I am afraid you would find the defect of his voice, increased as it has been by Canning's jokes, a greater disadvantage to him than you are aware of. This I feel that I ought not to conceal from you, though Abbot's standing again seems at present to put all competition for the Chair out of the question.

"It will be a terrible thing to be obliged to go to town before Christmas, and I had flattered myself that for the short sitting which will probably take place before that time I should not be wanted. If you think it of real importance, however, I will obey your summons. I conclude that it is now pretty certain that Ministers mean to do nothing, or what is as bad or worse than nothing, with respect to the Catholic question. In that case I agree with you that the proceedings of the last Session make it almost necessary that an amendment should be moved to the Address, provided a good attendance can be procured, and particularly of the most prominent supporters of the Catholic cause. But if Lord Donoughmore or Grattan cannot attend, then I think it will be to be considered whether it may not be more advisable for you in the House of Lords and Ponsonby, if he is there, in the House of Commons to content yourselves with a general statement, marking the omission in the King's speech and giving notice of a motion for the earliest possible day when an attendance can be procured after the recess. Perhaps you will see in this a desire to prolong my holidays, but do not reject it on that account.

"Whatever is to be done upon this subject it will be material to ascertain the views and intentions of Wellesley and Canning. Within these few days I have had, through Adair, a communication from the former expressing a wish for a cordial union with you and me, but expressing also an apprehension that we were not disposed to give them the degree of weight and influence in a new arrangement which they think they have a right to expect. This Adair answered very sensibly and judiciously, placing the transaction of last Spring and the nature of our objection to the sort of partition that was then proposed in the true light. In my answer to Adair I have expressed my readiness to lend myself to any proposition for co-operation on the honourable ground of a concurrence in principle and opinion, and have authorised him to express that disposition on my part to Wellesley in any way that he may think proper, cautioning him however that this must be understood as conveying only my individual sentiments and that I could not go further without the concurrence of my friends, and particularly of yourself, whom I must consider as having a just claim not only to be first consulted, but to take the lead in any matter of this kind in which I may be engaged. I hope you will not disapprove of my having said

thus much. I could not delay my answer to consult you, and to a communication made in so conciliatory a manner I thought I could not say less.

"I have had very accurate and detailed accounts of the proceedings both in Spain and Russia. Though those from the latter speak of the composition of the armies, as to the character of the troops, as excellent, and represent the French as having sustained even greater losses than the Russians in the different actions which have taken place, yet the description they give both of the state of the Government and of the command of the armies leads me to conclude, as you probably have done, that no reasonable hope of success is to be entertained in that quarter. In Spain the prospect does not appear more encouraging. Nothing but the division of the French armies and the jealousies prevailing between the commanders could have afforded us the successes which we have had, and if any one efficient commander had the sole direction of the force even now in the Peninsula I cannot doubt that according to all reasonable grounds of calculation we should very speedily be compelled to abandon the country. As it is, Lord Wellington is complaining of his difficulties, particularly with respect to money, which are very great."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, November 1. Stowe.—"I write a line to tell you that we are this moment arrived and expect Lord and Lady Temple, Lord George and Mr. Brown with Shipley and Dr. O'Connor to dinner. My brother has been better than I have yet seen him all the time at Castle Hill, and very well upon the journey, and though he was a good deal affected at first coming into the house, he is now quite tranquil and has ordered dinner in the Grenville room. Last night, however, at Oxford he received from Ebrington a letter that shocked and distressed him very much. It was neither more nor less than to say that he had from *forgetfulness* omitted to state either to my brother or to myself that if there is a question for *reducing my brother's sinecure he cannot vote against it*; he regrets this the more because by what he hears that question is likely soon to come on; he therefore desired to be allowed to apply for the Chiltern Hundreds, which he hopes will *replace* everything as it was.

"My brother was deeply wounded by so unexpected a blow from a hand on which he had so recently conferred a great obligation; after some conversation with me I prevailed upon him not yet to write to Ebrington, but to enclose his letter to Lord and Lady Fortescue and to desire them to talk with him on the subject at Castle Hill before any final answer goes to Ebrington from my brother. Lord Buckingham wrote accordingly last night, and I wrote to Hester to tell her very plainly how unjustifiable this conduct of Ebrington's appears

to me and how important it seems that they should endeavour to bring him to better reason. The very notion of his joining Cobbett and Creevey in their blackguard hostility against my brother is in itself quite intolerable, and is rendered still more so by the very culpable course of making my brother choose him and then exhibiting himself as driven out of Parliament because he will not support his uncle's interests. I know Ebrington means well and means no ill, but what he has done and is doing is as hurtful to my brother's interest, character and feelings as a seat in Parliament could be rendered by the most malicious and perverse adversary. I have said all I could to Hester, but doubt whether she has influence enough over him to alter his opinions; yet, if she cannot, I know nobody that can. My brother is deeply hurt and wounded, and I own I cannot wonder at it, though I do what I can to soothe him."

Private. LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1812, November 3. Eden Farm.—"The private history of Lord Moira's appointment is that on Wednesday last the Prince, who during some days had not seen Lord Liverpool, said to him, 'I have just rendered a great service to you.' 'What service, sir?' 'I have prevailed on Moira to go to India and he is getting actually ready to go as soon as may be.' Lord Buckinghamshire was at the time on the road from Lincolnshire, at Gogmagog. This anecdote requires no comments. The abruptness of the proceeding in respect to Lord Minto is so glaringly unjust and offensive that I shall not be surprised if it should be 'countervailed' by an earldom."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1812, November 5. Eden Farm.—"So far as I can collect the day of the speech is not yet fixed, but it is more likely to be on Monday, the 30th, than on Friday, the 27th; and 21 days being sufficient for the business necessary to be brought forwards, it seems probable that about the 22nd December Parliament will be adjourned to the end of February.

"Burgos is expected to capitulate or to be successfully stormed; I doubt it, but even then I conceive that we shall be apparently as much involved as ever in the prosecution of a boundless and unprofitable expense.

"Lord Moira is desirous to go immediately and means to include the military command in his appointment. How this is to be compensated to Sir George Nugent I cannot comprehend. Even the government of Madras cannot compensate it."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1812, November 5. Stowe.—"I wrote to Hester in compliance with my brother's wish, who made that the con-

dition of his delaying his answer to Ebrington ; in truth, too, I believe that I could not then have written to him without writing more harshly than might be either useful or justifiable ; and I felt quite sure that he would know my sentiments from his mother, and am inclined still to think that on this subject I was not likely to have much weight with him in my own person. This observation however does not extend itself to you, whom he considers as much more of a reformer than I am ; and I believe it would be very useful, if you were to shew him that it is possible for you to incline to entertain the question of some improvement in the representation, without your adopting at the same time all the blackguard . . . of Cobbett, Burdett, Cochrane and Creevey and Hallett about my brother's patent sinecure office, to the suppression of which Ebrington has no scruple of declaring himself bound by his opinions. Write therefore to him by all means, for you may do good with him ; but I am confident I cannot.

“ Upon the subject of the Tellership I must tell you *in confidence* that upon our arrival here my brother received a letter from Lord Camden which he shewed me the day before yesterday, and asked my advice about the answer. The letter shewed in the first place some considerable alarm about expected clamour, and he invited my brother to consider with him of the propriety of their jointly proposing to Government to take a compensation for their offices, founded upon an average of the last ten years of peace and the last ten of war ; all this, written under evident alarm, is followed by another short letter, to say that he now finds his own friends more inclined to think that the battle may be fought without any arrangement at all of compensation, if my brother will obtain the concurrence of his friends and connections, more especially, as he says, that the Jacobins are now much decried and may perhaps be successfully resisted. My advice to my brother has been to discourage the notion of compensation, partly because, if anything like a moderately equitable compensation is given, it would increase and not allay the clamour, but chiefly because, in a Parliament as loose and uncertain as this is, no man in the House of Commons can answer for what the result will be if this question is opened, and if every member is invited to give his opinion as to how much of his own Lord Buckingham or Lord Camden should be allowed to retain. While Perceval lived he had weight and influence enough in the House of Commons to have made it less unsafe to open this question, but now, in my opinion, it would be madness to trust to Vansittart or to anybody else for leading the House through this business or for giving any security to the two parties for the result of any such discussion. I am therefore decidedly against *opening up* this question or proposing to the *House to discuss any new arrangement respecting it*.

“ But, on the other hand, I think it not at all to be endured

that my brother should be kept in a constant state of pillory and under the irksome and sickening obligation of an annual canvass of his friends and relations for his own pecuniary interests, and that too with such a prospect in point of canvass as is afforded in the instance of Ebrington's letter.

"My advice to him therefore has been to suggest to Lord Camden the idea of the two Tellers writing to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to signify officially to him their intention of making annually a contribution of one-third of the profits of the Tellership to the support of the war, as long as it shall last; and this proposition, I am very happy to say, Lord Buckingham has so far adopted as to have proposed it to Lord Camden for his concurrence, and, I trust, to have determined it at least for himself, though he is very anxious to continue common cause with Lord Camden. This third will be from each of them a contribution of above 8,000*l.*, a sum surely large enough to satisfy all our friends and to afford a fair ground of answer to Creevey and Cobbett; and though I know our enemies will not be satisfied by anything less than the whole, yet I do really trust that, under these circumstances, the painful annual recurrence of such a motion may be avoided and suppressed. My brother is himself quite satisfied and cheerful about it, and I shall be anxious to hear that you approve: the urgency of the answer from Lord Buckingham to Lord Camden did not admit of my asking your previous advice as I should naturally have wished.

"This new shape (if adopted) *may* save the question of Ebrington; but I am not at all sure that it *ought*, even if it is successfully adopted. For to say the truth Ebrington has betrayed on this subject so much weakness and infirmity of mind, and such a discouraging state of political feeling, that I have hardly courage to look at his passing through a Parliament like this, so full of unsteady mischief, and so little under any reasonable influence or control."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, November 6. Stowe.—"I enclose to you Lord Auckland's note, which, as he truly says, requires no comment. I suppose from the repeated instances which are daily furnished of this princely determination of governing without any Ministers the country may begin to perceive in a twelvemonth more what you and I have perceived for more than a twelvemonth past, namely, that the great political question of the present time is not of whom the Ministry shall be composed, but whether the royal brothers shall follow their own individual fancies without leaving more to any Ministers than obedience and responsibility. I had already conversed with my brother upon this new appointment of Lord Moira; not as it concerns Lord Moira, whose flight from the Catholic question to the banks of the Ganges is about as chivalrous and creditable to him as was his blue and Catholic ribbon. Of him I hope

to hear as little as possible ; but Lord Buckingham assures me that Nugent will certainly accept of Madras, and that as Governor of Madras he will retain at least two aides-de-camp, so that George's arrangements will not in this case need to undergo any change. If any change should however by any unforeseen chance occur, my brother will not hesitate to desire the chivalrous Moira to accept of George for an *aide-de-camp*, an office which I do not covet for him and which I heartily hope he will escape from. I have written all this shortly to Hester this morning to prevent her being disturbed by the news of this new appointment.

“My brother had a very kind letter though a short one from Fortescue this morning, stating that he expected Ebrington at Castle Hill as yesterday ; Fortescue is quite shocked and surprised at this new evidence of his son's political opinions, but expresses a very sanguine hope that their discussions with Ebrington will set all right and avert the cruel necessity which is in question. You will see by my letter of yesterday that I entertain great doubt whether, even if this difficulty be surmounted, some other will not probably recur ; pray tell me your opinion fairly whether, if my brother should discuss it with me, I had better encourage or discourage for Ebrington his holding his seat. It is possible that it may operate as a check upon him and that the martyrdom of resignation may on the other hand confirm him in these perilous paths, but is the hope of good sufficient in this case to invite the risk of the evil that may ensue ? I distrust my own judgment and want the help of yours. I want also your opinion upon another matter where my own embarrassments are a good deal increased by seeing that they may in some degree bear more upon you than I ought to suffer them to do. I know however that you will be disposed to put any consideration of yourself out of the question, and my fear of your doing so to any unreasonable extent ought perhaps to make me more hesitate in communicating with you upon it ; nevertheless I will tell you plainly what is passing in my mind. The clamour which has been raised against my brother, and which seems at the Berkshire and some other elections to have been made more prominent than ever, is directed against his family as well as against himself ; and although the magnitude of the Teller's office brings it more into notice, yet the Chief Justice in Eyre and the Auditor of the Exchequer take no small share in drawing down upon the family the daily abuse which is showered down upon us all by the pious reformers of these expensive days. How little I think these clamours founded in justice and how little is to be gained or hoped for of public favour by giving way to them I need not tire you with discussing ; but when, upon a cool and calm review of all the circumstances of the present times, I advise my brother and succeed in persuading him to make a sacrifice of one-third of his sinecure office, I feel very uneasy in not tendering the same proportion

of the sinecure office which I hold ; nor can there be many, if any, substantial reasons why I should in regard to my sinecure advise myself to receive the whole, while I advise my brother to give a third of his. Perhaps, however, I am not quite without fear of something like ostentation in accompanying my brother's offer of 8,000*l.* *per annum* with my little pittance of 640*l.* or thereabouts ; but another much more important consideration is that it would be very unfair to you to give you by such a proceeding no other option but that of adopting a similar course or of incurring a new torrent of abuse by not adopting it. I own to you I have so strong a sense of the force that I ought to give to this particular point that it is what most especially weighs with me in the consideration which I have given to this subject ; nor are we quite upon equal terms in this discussion ; 600*l.* or 700*l.*, though certainly a great deficit to my income, yet in the serambling old-bachelor-way in which I live, there is scarcely any degree of privation, however great, that would in any essential degree affect either my spirits or comfort, but your establishment and position being larger in extent, and not of the same solitary character with mine, might subject both you and your dear wife to real inconvenience. I state this shortly, not that I feel it slightly ; on the contrary it may probably quite govern my decision ; but when I have named it you will at once see it and feel it better than I can describe it. There is still another view of this question which must not entirely be put aside, and that is whether a sacrifice of this sort made by names known in the country as public men will not look too like alarm and pusillanimity, and whether it will not, like the cowardice of private life, rather invite insult than secure conciliation and be construed into a tacit confession of the crime of public plunder, as it is called in the new reforming dictionary.

"Some reference should perhaps be had to the danger of this course from all of us, if it shall seem to operate as a similar call upon other holders of sinecures, whose circumstances may not enable them to make any such sacrifice, and yet whose refusal may thus through our means draw an unmerited but unavoidable imputation upon them.

"Consider this well in all its bearings, for I am very anxious to have an opinion as honest and well-informed as yours will be. I need not tell you that I have not named this matter to any one living creature. I will own fairly the leading bias of my mind is strongly in favour of the measure, although I feel very foreibly the different objections which hang upon it ; but I shall bury the matter within my own breast till I hear from you. I had myself rather work for my bread than have the poor people taught to believe that any place of mine made bread dearer to them."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, November 8. Stowe.—"The post had hardly carried away my last letter when it occurred to me that I had neglected

to mention to you a circumstance which I should never have alluded to if it had not been necessarily connected with the discussion of sacrifices which it may be thought prudent or expedient to pass under consideration. More than once or twice officious friends have given me pretty broad hints of the propriety of suggesting to you the measure of the resignation of Lady Grenville's pension upon the grounds of its having been given as a provision that was wanted at the time, but the necessity of which is thought to have been superseded by the large estate to which she has succeeded. I know this view has been taken of it by several very sincere friends, and as late as the month of May last Sir J. Newport vehemently pressed me to urge you upon the subject. To him and to others I have always said that I wished to stop them *in limine* by desiring not to discuss a question of which you yourself was the only competent judge, and upon which I thought it due in delicacy both to you and to myself to say distinctly that I thought myself bound not to entertain the subject with them or to mention it to you. I should never have done so, but now that the pressure of present circumstances and the considerations which I described in my last letter have forced upon me the mention of these ungracious topics it would not be dealing fairly with you not to shew you the whole of the case as far as public opinion seems to bear upon it. Whether your own opinions will lead you to think any sacrifice expedient in this time of private pressure and public clamour, and if so to what proportion either of the Auditorship or pension, must rest entirely for your decision ; but knowing as I do how much some of the best of our friends are disposed to look with uneasiness at the pension, I should have felt that I had done unfairly by you if, when the one topic was forced from me, I had continued to be silent on the other. What are the times that we live in when it can appear to me either necessary or justifiable to write as I have written ?

"I have shewn my brother Grey's letter and your comment upon it, and concur with him entirely in thinking your view of the subject correct, though we are both of us sorry to see that health tells so much with you in your consideration of the matter. If, however, that be so, I cannot wonder at your wishing to see a more active lead fall into Grey's hands, nor do I know of any objection to your distinctly stating that to him ; and yet some management will be necessary in doing so in order to prevent a mind as susceptible as his from taking too quickly the alarm of being left more alone under the discouraging circumstances of the present time. Great management is likewise due to prevent the alarm of any such new event from discouraging our own particular friends or becoming the means of giving an additional shock to our party in its present tottering and infirm condition. Both these objects, as well as every other interest connected with them, would seem to me to be best satisfied by your making

your communication to Grey quite confidential and by your abstaining from announcing in any way to anybody else your intention of taking a less active lead in public business. Of Canning and Wellesley I believe we all think quite alike, as offering no ground of confidence, and yet as possessing in some degree what we cannot well do without. Upon this subject I own I think you judge quite for the best in determining, under all the present circumstances, to leave the decision of encouraging or repelling Wellesley's overture entirely to Grey. It does not seem to me to be at all clear that Wellesley's message through Adair comprehended Canning as included in it, and I should have been led to doubt it the more from observing the increased hostility of Canning's language towards Opposition, in his ostentatious haranguing at Liverpool and Manchester, where his head seems to have been completely turned by vanity and self-importance; but I see that Grey couples the two names of Canning and of Wellesley together, and therefore I suppose Adair's message included the one as well as the other. Again I repeat that I have no confidence in Canning, and that my expectation is that his concert with us, if adopted, will only end in his raising his price to the Regent and his Ministers; but as I am quite persuaded nothing will do without, I should not dissent from making the experiment if Grey and his friends are inclined to it; but I should not have confidence enough in it to wish to see you urge them to it or to have it considered as your wish and suggestion. You see therefore that with this view of the subject on my part I cannot but be gratified by your leaving this entirely to Grey for his decision, and my brother entirely concurs in these sentiments. As to inviting early attendance for debate, discussion or division, without our grenadiers or light infantry having joined us, I think such a proposition not worth arguing about; but I take for granted you will advise the attendance of Ponsonby on the Address for the purpose of his adverting to the Catholic question; and, as I should think, for naming the first day after Christmas for a question upon it if the Irish members can be brought by that time to attend."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, November 11. Stowe.—"I write you one line to tell you that my brother has heard by this morning's post from Lord Camden to say that he highly approved of the idea which had been suggested of contribution, in some fixed proportion, and that he would soon write more at large; but that he had already confidentially consulted Long and Cook upon the subject, who both of them highly approved and earnestly recommended the adoption of the idea suggested in my brother's letter. I think I see in Lord Camden a little hankering after a smaller proportion, though no specific proportion is as yet named by him. My brother, however,

sticks stoutly to his third, in which I very much encourage him, for it would be foolish to do this at all if it be not done upon a large and satisfactory scale. I have urged my brother to press Lord Camden to-morrow to an early decision, as it seems very desirable that their letter should be officially written to the Chancellor of the Exchequer before the opening of the new Parliament.

“Lord and Lady Carysfort come here the end of this week ; I am afraid he is but poorly. My brother continues in good health and in very tolerable spirits, amusing himself all morning with a new improvement of adding to the garden on the whole side of the park from the end of the Græcian valley to the Gothic building, and his whist continues to amuse him in the evening.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, November 12. Stowe.—“I return to you your letter to Grey, which we both of us think perfectly well calculated for the occasion, reserving however a criticism upon the first lines of it which seem rather to discourage Grey’s coming up to town. Upon this topic we both of us think that Grey should rather have been invited to see in your own decision for yourself an additional reason why he should not be wanting also, for with the disadvantage of the want of some of our first friends in the House of Commons your absence and Grey’s together will entirely dispirit and dissolve the very powerful ranks that remain. I am myself particularly pleased with your resting so strongly upon the opposition to the system of governing without any Ministers at all, for till this is felt by the country as it should be all other political questions are of little or no avail, and there are still many of our own friends whose eyes are not yet sufficiently opened to the apprehension of this first and greatest evil. I have had a very kind letter from Fortescue and Hester lamenting very feelingly the invincible pertinacity of their son, who has likewise himself written to my brother with great expressions of kindness and regard and with an offer if absolutely *claimed* by my brother even of voting *once* in favour of the question, but stating his conscientious sentiments and opinions as so entirely made up that he still earnestly repeats his determination to vacate as soon as my brother will let him. He says he had hoped this question of sinecures would not come on, and therefore he had not mentioned it at Boconnoc, but that he has since heard that it will immediately be brought on and will be tacked also to every tax bill. His general conduct and language, though very kind, is so very weak and unsteady that I think the case quite desperate and suspect that some of the *democrats* have got an entire possession of him and control over him. This shews me a wider danger than I had suspected and is in my view a strong additional motive for a steady resistance and sober array of old opinions against new ones.

I must also add that it is with me a great additional inducement for us both to adopt the suggestion which I have proposed to you as touching our respective offices, a sacrifice which I cannot but think would enable us to fight our battle with the reformers to great advantage. My brother is still discussing with Lord Camden the proposed letter to Vansittart."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1812, November 15. Stowe.—"I am very truly sorry to see by your letter of this day how much you are disinclined to the suggestion of my two former letters, and still more so when I read over the grounds of your objections, which I must fairly own do not seem to me to apply to the view which I take of the subject or to be any other than of that very trite, obvious and general description which the exigency of the present times and circumstances seems to me to overpower. The distinction that you take between the Tellership and other sinecure offices, not as to their original grant, but as to their present amount, does not appear to me to be solid or satisfactory; and though it is true that my brother's Tellership exceeds largely in its present produce what had probably been in any original contemplation, yet there will certainly be found upon enquiry to be a hundred other sinecures and offices partaking of that character, where the increasing wealth, expenditure and business of the country has increased the product of the fees tenfold beyond the payments originally in contemplation; and of the many unjust attacks made upon my brother's office I own I think the endeavour to distinguish it from every other, only on account of its amount, seems to me to be the most flagrant act of injustice and to be in fact the very first step to a *lex agraria* and an equal partition of property, for if this principle be once recognised the Duke of Devonshire's rental of 120,000*l. per annum* is a much greater public grievance than Lord Buckingham's Tellership of 24,000*l.* during the war. It is from the same objection to admit of this exception in reference to amount of profits that I think it peculiarly desirable that, if a sacrifice is made by you and me, it should be made at the same time with his in order expressly to shew that we do not admit of any distinction between his sinecure office and ours as to the principle on which they stand and ought to stand in public consideration. Your next objection to our contribution, namely that of supposing it to be on our part a confession of our having hitherto done wrong, has still less weight even than the former in my eyes, and if it had any foundation would equally apply to the case of Lord Buckingham. I certainly would not advise him to give 8,000*l. per annum* if I thought that in doing so now he would confess he had been doing wrong in not giving it sooner, particularly as I think no such wrong can justly be imputed to him any more than it could be to us if we were to make

the sacrifice in question ; neither do I see your other objection (namely that of saying, if we give a third, why not the whole) as applying more in our case than in that of my brother or as being truly applicable to either. The ground upon which I think the whole question truly stands as with respect to my brother I have detailed to you in my former letter, and will not tire you by repeating, but I must again observe that the whole of that ground applies in my mind as much to our offices as to his. The pressure of the times which invites odious and invidious clamour ; the prominent positions in which both of you, and I in an inferior degree, have been seen by the public ; the peculiarly unfortunate and unpromising state of the House of Commons for the agitation of these questions ; the total insufficiency of the present Government to afford on such topics any protection, countenance or authority, or to replace at all in this respect the loss of Perceval ; the daily increasing necessity of contending against the democratic party ; and the advantage with which we and our friends should fight that battle, after such sacrifice in the three elder branches of the same family ; the honourable satisfaction arising from such a sacrifice in our own minds, however ungratefully it might be received by the public ; and the consciousness that by such a voluntary sacrifice we might save to the constitution of the country the dreadful wound that the House of Commons may inflict upon it by any sweeping innovation which these sacrifices might prevent—these are the great and leading topics on which my mind rests, and to which, I confess frankly and fairly, I do not see anything like an answer in the letter which I have received from you. All that I earnestly request of you is to consider the whole subject once again well over in your own mind before you make a final decision. Do not trouble your poor eyes to write at any length, but reflect carefully and seriously on all the important bearings, and then say aye or no. Your decision must govern mine, for even if I am right the result would produce more evil than good if either of us two did upon that subject differently from the other. I am quite persuaded you will exercise a sound and honest judgment in trying this question, and though I cannot hope you will satisfy my reason and judgment, I shall be content to know that upon due reflection you have satisfied your own. I shall probably see you in town, for having some business there I have promised Essex to meet Tierney at Cashibury on 19th in my way to London, where I shall arrive on Saturday morning. I shall stay ten days or a fortnight and then return here. I had depended on Temple, who had promised to be here on Wednesday, but now writes that he is going a shooting. The Carysforts too, who had promised to come here about this time, have not written as they said they would to fix their day. This is provoking enough, as I had fixed my time, depending on them and Temple, and cannot now well alter

it. My brother is delightfully well both in health and spirits, and the Pigots are coming here to-morrow.

"I have shewn to my brother your account of Holland's proposal, and I rejoice to see not only that you are going to town upon it, but that you will urge our friends to take in the House of Commons the same decided tone and language which you will use in the House of Lords. It seems to me that the more you are disinclined to any constant systematic attendance on the Opposition benches the more expedient and necessary it will be for you to speak a plain and decided language on those great topics which will claim your attendance; and surely no business can be more important than that of manifesting in every possible shape a determination not to let your opinions and those of your friends down to the level of Whitbread's *Crown and Anchor* harangues in favour of a negotiation for peace, which, commencing under such auspices, could have no other effect than that of inviting a continuance of war; for even if Bonaparte was now himself inclined to peace, he surely would not think it his interest to make peace in the very moment that the English Parliament proclaim to all Europe that they have no means left to wage war with France and America. Whitbread's real object is to take a separate lead, and in my mind the more strongly that separation is marked by us the better, and that too even on the very first day of the Session, if it shall be practicable.

"My brother tells me he will give you an account of Wellesley's intention to call upon you as soon as you come to town and to connect himself with you and Opposition, with or without Canning, as Canning may decide. I suppose Wellesley will end in joining us and Canning in standing aloof."

EARL GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, November 17. Howick.—"Your letter found me recovering from a rather severe attack of my old stomach complaint, which I have had since I last wrote to you. I am now quite well again. But though the impression I felt with respect to what you propose to me was as decided the first moment as it is now, I delayed writing till I could do so with more comfort to myself, and till I could assure you that I was not acting under the temporary influence of low spirits.

"I must in the first place express the extreme satisfaction I derive from so extraordinary a proof of your friendship and good opinion. It has really raised me in my own estimation, and if anything could persuade me that I was fit for the situation from which you wish to withdraw yourself it would be your proposing it to me.

"But I know myself at least enough to resist the vanity which might arise from such an instance of your partiality. The possibility of my being called upon to undertake the lead and conduct of a great party has not now for the first time occurred to me. I have reflected upon it when I hoped

that the probability of such a proposal being made to me was very small, and my opinion was then, as it is now, that if you were obliged to retire from a situation to which I know no other man who is quite equal, it would be impossible for me to undertake it without too great a risk both of my own peace of mind and of whatever reputation I may enjoy with my friends and with the public.

“To the reasons which influence you I have really nothing to answer. In the present state of politics I could not urge you to the sacrifice even of an hour’s health, much less to expose yourself to so serious a danger as you describe. I should perhaps have something to say myself on the score of health ; and the difference between us in age is not such as to leave me a hope that I could for any length of time support a burthen which already presses too heavily on you. But the labour from which you find it necessary to seek relief would be to me intolerable, or rather I could not go through it at all. Independently of all my other disadvantages, which I will not state, but which I know, and which are not the less real because they may be in a great degree the consequences of my own idleness, I have neither the knowledge nor the habits of business, which even in Opposition are required for the direction of such a party as ours, but which in office are indispensable. Feeling the truth of all you say of the duties which a chief Minister of this Government would have to perform in such a season as the present, could I, whose whole official life has been limited to one year, conscientiously undertake a task in which I should have everything to learn from the lowest details to the highest ?

“As a second to you, and particularly in keeping the body of Fox’s friends in cordial co-operation with you, I have hitherto felt that I could act usefully both for the party and the public. And to this object my efforts have been directed, not always perhaps with so much diligence as they ought to have been, but with as much sincerity and zeal and with as little of personal motive as I believe it was possible for a man to feel. But if you are compelled to discontinue your services as our leader, I really see no course left for me but to withdraw myself from the share of authority which I now possess in the party at the same time.

“The result then is that if you cannot continue in the chief direction I cannot undertake it. *Desunt humeri*. This is so conclusive that like the first reason given by the man for not firing the cannon, the want of powder, it may spare our seeking for any others. But there are a great many, and amongst them the distance at which I live, and the impossibility, charged with such a family as I am, of my being sufficiently present upon the scene of action. What is to be done under these circumstances I don’t know. But nothing seems to press for any immediate measure, and perhaps we may be able to talk this matter over together before we are

called upon to announce any decision to our friends. In the meantime I shall say nothing to anybody of what you have written. It is necessary, however, that you should know what was passing in my mind at the very moment I received your letter with respect to Holland and what I have expressed both to him and to one or two others of my friends.

“As this connects itself with what has been passing with respect to Wellesley, I must in the first place say something on that subject; and to show you how entirely our opinions have coincided upon it I enclose a copy of Adair’s letter to me and of so much of my answer as relates to this business. I have since learnt from Adair that the Duke of Bedford and some others of our friends express so decided an objection to any junction with Canning that I have written both to Holland, to whom what had passed had been communicated, and to Adair to say that I think it better to drop the matter if it can be done with civility; and I am in hopes that no steps will have been taken which might render this recommendation ineffectual. I have done this because though nothing is said of Canning in the original communication, and though I believe the connection between him and Wellesley is by no means indissoluble, still they are sufficiently united in public opinion to make the appearance of this personal objection to Canning unavoidable in the very first stage of any discussion into which we might enter. This, I am sure, you will agree with me in thinking should, if possible, be avoided. I do not believe indeed that there is the least chance of Canning’s ever joining sincerely in any systematic opposition to the Court; but I feel that it would be neither ingenuous nor honourable to treat about a junction as if it were possible when I know that, even upon my own terms, the objection of my friends must prevent it. But this has set me a-thinking upon the state of our ranks in the House of Commons, and the first question which naturally occurs is whether, if we must not have Canning, we can go on without Whitbread? With me I have the painful conviction that he never can act cordially. With Holland I think he might. Holland besides would have great advantages with the body of Opposition and particularly with Fox’s friends. And what though last is not least, the personal hatred which increases the Prince’s dislike of a Whig Administration would not apply to him. By this train of reasoning, not a little confirmed perhaps by the feelings naturally arising from the experience we have had of the perfidy of the Court on the one hand, and the injustice of the public on the other, I have been led to convince myself, and have expressed in the way I have already stated, my opinion, that instead of taking upon myself more extensive duties, many advantages would be found in transferring the authority and distinction I now hold more particularly with that branch of the party which was formerly attached to Fox, avowedly and ostensibly to Lord Holland.

“Whether it was better or not to move an amendment, the circumstances of the case seem to leave you no choice; and in the present state of the House of Commons I strongly incline to the opinion that if a fair excuse can be found for your absence, it is much better that this indication should be given of your having had nothing to do with any proceedings which may take place there.

“I think however that a notice should be given as soon as it conveniently can of a motion on the Catholic question after the recess.”

Enclosure (1).

SIR ROBERT ADAIR to EARL GREY.

1812, October 22. Woburn.—“I do not know whether what I am about to mention can lead to any practicable result, but as, at the worst, you will only have the trouble of reading my letter, I think it right to tell you that in passing through London it was stated to me (in a circuitous but yet in a sufficiently authorized manner) from Lord Wellesley, that his sentiments with regard to the present Ministers and their measures were more than ever in unison with yours, and that he wished for nothing so much as a cordial union with yourself and Lord Grenville, which he conceived to be to the full as practicable now as it was during the late transactions which brought you into intercourse with each other.

“Such an union, he conceived, must also be desirable to you, since without it these Ministers would go on, until in a very little time there would be an end of the Government and the country itself. It was then intimated to me that the only obstacle to such an union was that of which you have already heard so much, namely, a disposition on the part of the Whigs not to allow to those who joined them that degree of rank and consideration to which they might fairly pretend in the formation of a Government.

“As this is an obstacle concerning which I conceive Lord Wellesley to be under a material error, I thought it necessary to set the point in its true light, which indeed I was the better enabled to do by our recent conversation at Howick on the false views imputed to our party by S[ydney] S[mith] in his article in the *Edinburgh Review*. I stated therefore that, as far as I could understand, the principle by which the Whigs had always been guided in their coalitions with other parties it [*sic*] was not that of a balance of power between separate factions mutually jealous of each other, but the simple one of forming a common association among able men, grounded upon an honourable confidence, and directed to a common end; that to an association of this nature, and in order to make it fit for all seasons and all emergencies, *unity* was no less essential than *union*; the one as well as the other being alike and

equally necessary to constitute either a Parliamentary Opposition or a Parliamentary Government ; that there was nothing in this principle to exclude or to limit the pretensions of any member of such an association to the highest objects of personal ambition. The very reverse was the fact, since in almost every instance during the King's reign, either of the admission of individuals, or of the coalition of parties, it would be found that those pretensions uniformly had found their own place and level. Mr. Fox, immediately upon his junction with Lord Rockingham, without stipulation or agreement of any kind, by the mere force of his abilities became the leader and in fact the head of the Whig party. His coalition with Lord North proceeded upon the very same principle ; and the distribution of offices on that occasion was entirely regulated by the supposed fitness of the individuals for the departments to which they were named, taking into consideration their respective pretensions to public confidence in those particular departments. This principle was still more strongly evinced in the administration formed upon Mr. Pitt's death, at the head of which Lord Grenville was unanimously placed by his colleagues without any regard to the small Parliamentary support which, comparatively with Mr. Fox, he could command. That, on the other hand, an association formed on the mere basis of a balance of power which always supposes a separation of interests, was only suited to temporary purposes, and never could be brought to embrace any object of permanent prospective good.

“ Having stated this generally, as a doctrine which I did not think could be disavowed, I added from myself that I by no means considered the obstacle as it had been stated by my informant, or indeed any obstacle in which Lord Wellesley alone was concerned, to be the real one ; that, to speak plain, I was afraid that Mr. Canning, when it became a question to face the Court in the only way in which the Court ought to be faced by men in earnest, would never come fairly forward ; that, counting upon the Prince's hatred to us, he would abstain from any union which might disappoint his hopes in that quarter ; and that pursuing the same Parliamentary line which had marked his conduct last year, he would join us only on some of the minor questions, and even that but in such a degree as to avail himself of our strength to force the present Government into his terms ; that if this were to be the case, things must remain as they are, the Ministry must go on, and the country be undone.

“ If you should think that what I have here mentioned deserves any further consideration, or any remark upon it from yourself which it would answer any good purpose to communicate, I can easily do so without committing you any further than you may desire. I will only add that Lord

Wellesley wished his sentiments to be made known to you.”
Copy.

Enclosure (2).

EARL GREY to SIR ROBERT ADAIR.

“I really do not feel a wish to add a word to what was so well and so judiciously said by you in answer to the communication from Lord Wellesley. You have put the principle of coalitions in the true light. They never can be useful or honourable unless the parties engaging in them can be brought to feel that the public interests must claim the first, and personal arrangements the second consideration. The latter were unfortunately brought more forward in our late negotiation, by the circumstance of its originating in an attempt immediately to form a new administration composed of parties then meeting for the first time to discuss the terms of their junction, and not connected in views and in interests by previous co-operation. This disadvantage must more or less attend all attempts of the same nature made under similar circumstances. I must therefore concur with Lord Wellesley in thinking an union between those who feel that the conduct and character of the present Government is ruinous alike to the interests and honour of the country, not at all less desirable now than it was at the time to which I have referred; and certainly, if all the parties are equally and sincerely disposed to it, much more practicable. If a prospect is opened to us of co-operation on the honourable ground of a concurrence in principles and opinions, a just sense of public duty must command my endeavours to give it effect. If we can sincerely unite to rescue the country from the dangers which threaten it, future official arrangements, should we be called upon to form them, will come to be discussed, as you have well stated, not between parties jealous of each other, but amongst friends united in a common cause, and labouring for a common end. Do not however suppose me to be so romantic as to conceive that even then personal considerations will not and ought not to have their fair influence. As poor Fox says in a letter published in Hardy’s *Life of Lord Charlemont*, to persuade men to disgrace themselves is no part of my system, and in forming a junction upon public principles it would be my wish that those whom I join should not only really have, but *appear* to have, the degree of weight and influence which fairly belongs to them, which is necessary to the support of their public character, and which is therefore required to render their services satisfactory to their friends and useful to the public.

“With such a disposition, ready to allow to others all that I claim for myself, I should come to the discussion of any fair proposition for an union of parties, which unconnected may render it impossible for the present Ministers to go on,

but which separately perhaps can neither of them, even with the full confidence of the Prince, much less without it, form a Government adequate to the conduct of affairs in the present disturbed and perilous situation of the country. But this union can only take place by a full and unreserved communication of our respective views and opinions, by the complete banishment of all disposition to intrigue, and above all by the immediate and firm rejection of every invitation which may be held out by the Court of separate favour, and the absolute renunciation of all separate pretensions on that account. It is not necessary for me to do more than point at this, as you have already, with the frankness and good sense which ought to accompany all communications of this nature, stated your own impressions, which are the same as mine upon this subject.

“At this distance having no means of communication which would not occasion too long a delay in answering your letter, all I have said must of course be considered as expressing only my individual feelings and opinions. I could engage in no direct proceeding without the concurrence of others, and particularly of Lord Grenville, whom I consider as having a first claim not only to be first consulted, but to take the lead in any matter of this nature in which I may be engaged. In the meantime, however, if you think it can be useful in bringing about an understanding which would be beneficial to the public at the present juncture, you are at liberty to communicate what I have now written in any manner that you may deem most advisable to Lord Wellesley.” *Extract. Copy.*

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1812, November 27. Stowe.—“My eyes are troublesome to me ; I therefore write only two lines to express the satisfaction I feel at the prospect of extending the operations of those who will act upon the one indispensable point of resisting that influence which threatens so severely the existence of our constitution. I will still hope that Canning will see that his objects of ambition may be forwarded as easily and perhaps as rapidly by this co-operation as by embarking with those who are so utterly incompetent to the salvation of the country ; but upon all this a few days may decide. At all events I have the means of *knowing* that Lord Liverpool is very desponding, and I believe that Lord Sidmouth is equally so, and they are very sensible to the blame that attaches on this fact, namely that from July 21, the victory of Salamanca, to the day of the retreat from Burgos and of the evacuation of Madrid, not one English soldier had joined either Lord Wellington or Hill from England, though above 25,000 men had joined the defeated army of Marmont from France ; nor did the life-

guards sail till after both those events had taken place. I mention this ground of attack because I do not agree with Tierney's opinion that it would be wise to forego all attack on the gross points of misconduct of which our foreign and domestic transactions furnish such ample proof; and if it is true (as Tom writes me word) that Government means to adjourn all business to February, it would certainly be politically wise (and particularly if Lord Wellesley and Canning co-operate) to *act* immediately.

"Excuse these very crude ideas, which I give you as they arise. My mind is little able to entertain these questions, but I am most anxious that the country should not be given up to Lord Yarmouth, without a battle."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

[1812, November. Stowe.]—"I enclose to you a letter from my son, who is in London, which appears very decisive as to Lord Wellesley's intentions, and which, as you may see him in town, it is fit you should know his general disposition on the points stated, though it is absolutely necessary that he should explain himself on the *one great fundamental point* on which, in truth, the whole of the question of a combined Opposition must rest. I need not say that I was most happy to see that point urged so strongly and so clearly in your letter to Lord Grey, and I trust that he will ask for a clear understanding upon it with Lord Wellesley. I had intimated to Lord Temple the probability that you might wish that Lord Wellesley might explain his ideas (if he looked to a combined Opposition) with Lord Grey and that many obvious advantages might arise out of such a communication, though if he preferred the communication with you it might certainly pass to Lord Grey through that channel.

"As to Canning, I have *no doubt* but that he is playing with Lord Wellesley exactly the same game as with everyone else, and I have no idea that he will ever be brought to the clear understanding *on the one point*, nor have I much faith in his abiding by such an engagement in the manner that we should adopt under similar pledge. Nevertheless, such is the state of the House of Commons that we can at present do nothing as an efficient body without him. It will however be most fortunate for us that Whitbread should open the campaign with a motion as you describe, for, although my son can take no active part in such a debate, the line of our opinions will, I doubt not, be fully taken and understood.

"My brother has opened to you the result of the attention I have given to the subject of the profits of my office. I have made up my mind, and I conceive Lord Camden will accede to the same idea, of a *voluntary contribution* of one-third of our net profits during the present war, '*as an aid* to the public service in a moment of great expense and difficulty.'

"I have sent to Lord Camden a draft of an official letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer notifying this intention, and my reasons for transmitting it, on the 23rd instant. I hope and trust that you will approve this step, which avoids all discussion of details. I have some reason for fearing that Lord Camden thinks the contribution too large, but I shall not diminish it.

"Adieu. Remember me most affectionately to your dear, good wife, whose kindness I never shall forget.

"Lord Buckinghamshire has announced to me, by a letter of great *personal* kindness, the intention of the arrangement for Lord Moira's commission, which supersedes Sir George Nugent, and 'which you will easily understand that I could not control or prevent.' But he says that the East India Company have agreed to follow the exact precedent of Lord Lake when superseded by Lord Cornwallis, in which case Lord Lake was continued as senior officer in Bengal and second in Council, *with all the allowances of Commander in Chief.*"

Enclosure.

EARL TEMPLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

[1812, November. London.]—"Dardis has seen W[ellesley], who has declared himself to-day anxious in the most earnest manner to act with Lord G[renville]. C[anning] is to be in town on Tuesday. He disavows the toasts, which he says he never gave, which he did not drink when given by others without guarding himself by speeches, which, with a *sauce piquante* of preface, he is going to collect and publish. W[ellesley's] language was, 'I am not more connected with C[anning] than I am with Lord G[renville]. If the former goes with me, well and good, he is *nothing* without me; and as I agree in every part with the latter, I am determined to go any lengths with him to turn out the present Ministers and will call upon him the very moment he comes to town.'

"He expressed great regret that Tierney was not in Parliament and hoped he would obtain a seat. At Brougham's defeat he rejoiced, as he considered him as a rank and decided Jacobin. He went over with Dardis every one of the leading political questions with a view to Lord Grenville's opinions, and concluded with expressing his decided concurrence with him in every one, *that upon the Spanish war included*. The blame which he imputed to the present Ministers was their having neither gone far enough upon Lord Grenville's system nor their own. Lord Grenville considered the Spanish contest as one which we were engaged in *pro salute*, they, as one *pro imperio*, and they had failed in conducting it for either object. I find a distinct breach between him and Lord Wellington, who has taken the most decidedly hostile part against him and in the most offensive manner. He declared himself hampered with W. Poole, who chose to make claims for what

he was totally unfit, and yet after the sacrifices he had made for him (Lord W[ellesley]) he did not know how to get rid of him. He asked whether I meant to speak the first night, declared he would in the most decided manner, trusted that Canning would do so too and desired to tell me that Sydenham had all his materials, which were at my service. He thinks that Canning will stick firmly to him, but *repeatedly* declared that his conduct should make no difference in his (Lord W[ellesley's]) or in his determination to act with Lord G[renville] and his wish to serve under him. All this *may* be a lie of Dardis, it *may* be a dupery of Wellesley; but you have the tale as it was told to me, and neither the facts nor the expressions have been overstated by me. His tone is desponding about Spain."

EARL TEMPLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1812, November. London.]—"Dardis is the bearer of this and also of several communications to *you* from Lord W[ellesley]. The latter is most anxious to see you, and as I have had through Dardis the means latterly of hearing his sentiments very fully explained and discussed, I cannot avoid partaking in his anxiety. Though I feel that perhaps there might have been some advantage in his entering into these details with Lord Grey, yet his absence and the importance which I attach to Lord Wellesley making this communication before he sees Canning if possible, have induced me to encourage Dardis in being Lord Wellesley's messenger to you and to join my anxiety to his that you would come up if it is only for a day as soon as you can."

N.B. (*by Lord Grenville*).—"It appeared when Dardis came that he was *not* sent by Wellesley to *me*, but only repeated what he had heard the latter say."

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1812, December 5. Eden Farm.—"I expect George to-day, and will mention your kind intentions to him. He has been professionally employed this week in the several convictions of Gawler and others. He lives in Old Buildings, Lincolns Inn.

"I understand that the Ministers were more annoyed in the House of Lords by Lord Wellesley and by you, than they were in the Commons by Canning, whose speech though hostile was somewhat shuffling. At this moment the Government is in a fool's paradise. It is a curious fact, but I happen to *know* the truth of it. The Cabinet was in possession of the 28th French bulletin at the time that they printed and circulated the Swedish bulletin; which Swedish bulletin is evidently and glaringly a tissue of exaggerations and lies framed from the two Russian bulletins, which also are in many respects contrary to the truth. Buonaparte seems to have suffered greatly in his retreat by the weather, and in some degree by the harassings

of the Cossacks. And unless he has magazines within reach, he may possibly find it difficult either to remain at Smolensko, or to proceed towards Wilna; or, which was his original intention, to establish himself on the Dwina. Our Ministers consider him as 'done up' and are talking of replacing Louis XVIII. Of course they infer that this will have a decisive effect in Spain. Lord Wellington had already meant, it is said, to retain his positions at Ciudad Rodrigo, Almeida, Guarda. The pressure for men and money to be sent to Portugal is very great and embarrassing. It may be desirable to receive Lord Wellesley as an ally, but it is impossible to agree with him in the practicability or expediency of the exertions which he requires."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1812, December 11. Eden Farm.—"Brougham's speech may have been made with good elocution; and his readiness and popular and professional courage may have given impressions very useful to him at the Bar; but it did not strike me in the report as shewing good taste, or as well calculated to serve his clients. Lord Ellenborough's courtly zeal seems to have been quite outrageous, and his allusion to Lord Holland was a malevolence not to be reconciled to any gentlemanly feeling.

"Lady Grenville will see in the enclosed that Lady Lansdowne is not likely to be of the Dropmore party.

"The Tunbridge bank, which had 90,000*l.* in circulation, and another Kentish bank have stopped. The embarrassments of the paper currency are tending to some great crisis.

"I fluctuate between the falsehoods of the French and Russian bulletins; but I shall not be surprised if, after all, Napoleon should get out of the scrape with considerable loss, and some taint to his military reputation."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1813, January 10. Eden Farm.—"We have had most satisfactory accounts of Dropmore and its inhabitants from George, who on quitting that neighbourhood came to us and will remain here till the beginning of the law term.

"I am never unoccupied here, but my occupations are so trivial that it would not be easy to describe them. In the actual state of my own temper and circumstances, and of the temper and circumstances of the times, I incline to economize the London house-hiring of this year altogether. I hesitate only from the possibility that Mary may not quite like such an arrangement.

"There is no use in a nearer approach to the bustle of public affairs; they are evidently going from bad to worse in every quarter where we have any concern or interest, at home or

abroad. The extent of Buonaparte's losses in the disastrous close of his campaign cannot yet be guessed at. But allowing them to be great, I do not believe that they will prevent him from collecting another northern army, or from employing increased exertions in the Peninsula. He may draw encouragement from the terms in which Lord Wellington proclaims that the British army (our great and last hope) has disgraced itself by the inefficiency of the officers, the outrageous excesses of the men, and the unexampled want of discipline beyond anything that the general has seen or read of.

"In the American war we have already paid the full penalty of our wilful folly.

"With respect to Parliamentary businesses, a notion is gaining ground, even among many who are warmly attached to you, that the late conduct and publications of the Irish Catholics have made impressions injurious to their cause, and that it will be difficult to carry a question of direct emancipation.

"The East India proprietors are apparently quarrelling with the Ministers, but will be glad eventually if they can get their renewal without greater sacrifices than those against which they are now so clamorous. Assuming the expediency of throwing open their trade, I cannot understand on what principle of policy the territorial government should be left to them.

"The consolidated fund of the quarter presents a lamentable result; it is partly attributed to an arrear of East India duties, and partly to the increase in the bank dividends. You will have seen that the war taxes also are on the decline."

LORD GRENVILLE to LORD AUCKLAND.

1813, January 12. Dropmore.—"I do not at all wonder at your disinclination to come to town this year. I heartily wish I could take the same resolution; but from February to Easter I must submit, and no longer. It is perfectly natural that the violence of the Irish Catholics should disgust quiet people here, who do not consider that, in the affairs of this world, the only receipt that has yet been found for keeping men in good humour is to treat them well.

"It is not difficult to foresee the end of this business even if one had not the experience of 1778 and 1782 before one's eyes. We shall bluster and storm against the Irish for being in a passion, till we excite some commotion there, and then we shall in a very great fright sneak most humbly out of all our bullying, and give with the worst possible grace, and without their even thanking us for it, about twice as much as would now content them. And all this for the sake of withholding concessions by which we should in fact ourselves gain

instead of losing ; or of demanding securities against dangers which do not exist ; and if they did, could not be so secured against. But so goes the world, and it is of no use to grumble at folly which is irreclaimable.

“ Lyttelton marries Lady Sarah Spencer ; he is, you know, a younger brother of no very rich family, but I understand his brother makes some arrangement (I know not what) to help it out.

“ I read *in* Grimm, but I could not get *through* him.

“ I am afraid Lord Buckinghamshire’s letter is not generally approved. In tone and temper (as Lord Liverpool would say) I cannot myself greatly admire it. In substance my only criticism upon it is, not that it asks too much for the public, but that it concedes a great deal too much to the Company.

“ I am most thoroughly convinced that the trade ought to be opened. Amongst a thousand other reasons for it the case of Ireland seems quite conclusive.

“ But I am equally confident that if it is to be opened at all, much more change must be made for that purpose than Government seems ever to have taken into consideration.

“ For instance—1. The Company receives a great revenue in India. 2. They remit a part of this to Europe in the way of their trade, and this they do not only when there is an annual surplus in the Indian Exchequer (a thing as rare in Asia as in Europe), but also when there is an annual deficiency, and consequent increase of debt. 3. In this way if they obtain 2*s.* 3*d.* here for the rupee which they invest in India they are no losers ; but if the sale of their Indian goods brings them (as is commonly the case) no more than 2*s.* or 1*s.* 8*d.*, they still carry on the trade because they say it is necessary to do so in order to keep the system going ; or in plain English, in order to realize the salaries of patronage of the Directors and their numerous dependents in Leadenhall Street, and the profits of the shipping owners, who constitute, as you know, a great majority of the proprietors. 4. The same thing happens as to the export trade, which they plainly tell us, and it is their boast, they carry on to loss. And they think it a great merit with the public thus annually to throw away a large sum of the money of their constituents, or more truly of the public.

“ Now what reasonable man that reads this statement of facts which cannot be disputed, can believe that private merchants entering into competition with so improvident a trader as the India Company can reap anything but bankruptcy ? This must be the result, so long as the competition is maintained on the one part by the private fortunes of individuals, on the other by drafts on the Indian revenues backed by an unlimited power of contracting *public* debts (as they are called) in India, and supported every year by

fresh grants from the liberal and confiding Parliament of Great Britain which ultimately pays for all.

“To open the trade in reality the Company themselves must be placed on a level with other traders, reduced to trade on their own commercial capital only, and to make an annual declaration of profit and loss on that capital. In that way the whole machine would stop in four or five years, and happy would it be for this country when it did so.

“I quite agree with you also in the opinion that if this trading company be unfit, as it manifestly is, to be trusted with a monopoly of commerce, it is an insult on the common sense of mankind to trust it any longer with the monopoly of Indian government for which it possesses no one possible qualification.

“The contest as it now rests between Government and the Company I consider as one *de lanâ caprinâ*. The country can gain nothing *whichever* way it is decided, and of the two I think it better not to bait a trap for the ruin of our own merchants. Such are my speculations—what others think I am totally ignorant.

“Fisher has sent me the year’s account. It is too bulky for the post; the following are the gross sums.

	Years	1811.	1812.
Consolidated fund	40,917	40,107
War taxes	22,393	21,181
Annual taxes	2,827	3,356
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		66,137	64,644
		64,644	
		<hr/>	<hr/>

Difference .. 1,493

This is of course exclusive of the increase of charge, the above being only the difference of receipt in the two years.

“The great falling off is in the Excise which is very near a million less this year than the preceding.

“I suppose East India Company partly accounts for this. The delayed Baltic trade will also when it arrives swell the Customs for the next July quarter.” *Copy.*

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1813, January 12. Althorp.—“Lord B[uckinghamshire]’s correspondence with the India Company might be recognised as his, even without his signature, from the tone of official petulance and ignorance which so strongly mark the hand of that great master. It was to be sure malicious enough in the Chairman to have asked him for his reasons; but Sir John Falstaff might have reminded him how to decline such a difficult requisition, with more good humour and less impertinence.

“It sounds trifling enough to dwell upon the folly and insufficiency of Lord B[uckinghamshire] and Lord L[iverpool] in a question of such importance and difficulty as the arrangement of the Indian Empire ; but there they are at the head of the government of the country, and while they are there, the question of India cannot practically be separated from them and from their entire insufficiency ; and such is my apprehension upon that subject that there is scarcely any evil in the present system that I should not prefer to the extreme danger which I apprehend from change while theirs are the hands which are to effect that change. I confess I do not think this is too limited a view of this great subject, because I take the whole stress of the question to be a practical one. In theory very few would now be found who would defend a system of monopoly, and even those who adopt any such principle in theory, would not find it easy to shew from the experience of the East India Company the advantages that either the Company or public have derived from the experiment. I am therefore much disposed to believe that it would be the duty of a wise government to adopt the system of an open trade to India ; but that is a measure which, as it appears to me, cannot be carried into effect by a mere stroke of the pen, but must be considered with very great preliminary caution and preparation. The whole system of the government of India (as you know much better than I do from my short presidency of three months), the habits of all persons who have ever exercised any authority in that country, the whole army that at this moment occupies it, and every Englishman there, excepting only the comparatively small proportion of King’s troops, have no other connection, and no other tie or interest than what ties them to the East India Company. This consideration alone is one that demands great caution as to any change which must at one and the same moment touch every individual hand by which we now hold our empire in India ; and when, in addition to this, you consider the very feverish state of the immense Indian army, their daily increasing jealousy of the King’s troops, and the successful issue of the open mutiny in which they were so lately engaged, every thinking mind will admit that the difficulties of making any sudden change, without very much indeed of previous preparation and arrangement, and without full information and conviction of practicable and secure success, are such as might well shake the soundest nerves. If I feel these difficulties so strongly as applicable to the best and wisest government, you will easily give me credit when I assure you of its being my sincere opinion that if the East India Company do not resume their charter, and if Lords L[iverpool] and B[uckinghamshire] and Moira turn to their own wise inventions for the new government of India, we shall very shortly have no India

to govern ; and with that opinion, I could not in conscience call upon them for the increased vigour which you desire to see in their eastern administration. I thought Perceval little less than a mischievous madman, when I saw him toss that great question into public discussion with as much ignorant confidence as if he was only treating of the renewal of a public-house belonging to the Crown in Downing Street ; and even since that time the difficulties will have increased tenfold, for sluggish and inactive as the Directors are, their friends and connections are not so ; and I am much mistaken if it does not soon appear from India that, little as this question has been agitated among Ministers here, it will have been on that side of the water more discussed than is consistent with Lord B[uckinghamshire]'s system of dignified silence and reserve. I say nothing of the popularity or unpopularity of this question, because I quite agree with you that it is much too large to be looked at through any such medium ; T[ierney], who came here the day before yesterday, is, as usual, too much possessed with the mere political view of advantage over our adversaries ; though one must fairly own that in all discussions of this subject, he has uniformly been, as might be expected from his connections, a friend of the India Company and the Directors. I am persuaded it will end in Ministers adopting at last the terms offered by the East India Directors.

“ Elliot and I go on Thursday to Stowe, from whence, after a week or so, if my brother continues as well as I left him, I shall move towards London. Write to me to Stowe to tell me when you go to London, that if I can I may take Dropmore in my way. By Tierney's account Grey comes up in second week of February or 1st of March.”

EARL GREY TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1813, January 13. Howick.—“ I received your letter by the last post. I have not written, having literally had nothing to say from hence, and I will confess I was in no hurry to introduce a discussion on any matters which might lead to the question of my going to town. This I am anxious to put off as long as possible, both for reasons which you can feel and comprehend, and for others more cogent though less pleasant ; but with which it is not necessary to trouble you at present. I had looked to the second week in February as the earliest time when my presence could be required, and I secretly entertained a hope that I might put off my journey even longer, or at least till the time that may be fixed for the Catholic question in the House of Lords. This hope I have not yet abandoned.

“ It is not because I did not know that there are many other most important matters depending that I have felt and in-

dulged this disposition. The truth is that I see less and less the possibility of our doing any good. The most we could produce by any considerable efforts would be to drive the Ministers to form some new alliance ; probably with Canning ; or to open the door for him as we did for Pitt in 1804. Now this would be in my mind anything rather than an improvement in the public councils. On the contrary I believe that most of the coils which are now so alarming would be very much aggravated by Canning's obtaining a complete preponderance, or even very considerable influence in the administration of affairs.

"I am therefore more than ever averse from taking any more active part than honour, consistency, and strict public duty absolutely impose upon us. By these undoubtedly we are bound to the Catholic question, and they will not allow us to fly from such subjects as the trade and government of India. There are also other important questions, the war and America, on which we cannot be silent. But under the circumstances in which we are placed, I should content myself with a firm and temperate vindication of our former opinions, and an assertion of such as we now hold, without pressing any of them in such a manner as to be likely to produce the effects to which I have already adverted.

"On the Catholic question I am by no means sanguine. The successes of Russia in removing our most pressing fear, at least for the present, have taken away the most powerful assistant of that cause ; and the Church, I hear, have been very active in their preachings and publications during the summer, so that I much fear we shall not find the public mind so favourably disposed towards us on this point as it was last year. The knowledge too of the Prince's declared opposition, which I am told now is avowed with as much hostility as his father's, whatever men may think of his wisdom or his honesty, will, in Parliament at least, produce no inconsiderable effect against us. I therefore doubt very much the prudence of bringing in a Bill as our first question. With or without clauses of security it must inevitably produce a very disadvantageous discussion on those points. Our old motion for a committee would, I think, be better till we have some more encouraging prospect of carrying our measure through. If the committee is granted we must, it is true, come to a Bill ; but we should do so with the full benefit of Liverpool's declaration that, the principle of concession being established, it would be neither wise nor honest to attempt to embarrass or defeat the measure by a contention about securities, which he professes to think of very little importance. If however a Bill should after all be preferred as the best mode, I think there can be no doubt of the wisdom of your recommendation of a simple repeal.

“As to the East India question I certainly have not the information which I ought to have to enable me to pronounce a final opinion on so difficult a subject. It seems to me that the Government cannot be right; that they have required either too much or too little; and I conclude their measures will share the usual fate of such compromises, by dissatisfying all parties. It cannot be necessary for me to express my agreement in the general opinions which you have stated. I can hardly imagine circumstances which could induce me to approve and to support the monopoly, or the present system of territorial government. But however difficult it may be for me even to figure to myself such a possibility, till I know more of the case of the East India Company, it would hardly be decent to avow a decided opposition to the claims. Tierney, who, you know, is their strenuous advocate, begs me to suspend my judgment till I hear what he has to say; this I am bound to do, though it will be no easy matter for him to convince me.

“I cannot conclude without adverting to the subject of our late correspondence, to which I think I see an allusion in your letter. The more I think on what you proposed to me, and I have thought of it day and night, the more I am convinced of the impossibility of my taking a more leading part than I have hitherto done in the direction and management of the party with which we are connected. Indeed I feel more and more the necessity of circumscribing rather than extending the sphere in which I have hitherto acted. This matter has been an additional inducement to me to prolong my stay here, both to put it quite out of the question, and to maintain my own determination, which, I know, I am always best able to do at a distance.”

Private. LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1813, January 14. Eden Farm.—“Yours of the 12th exhibits a lamentable statement of the comparative net revenue of the last two years. I suspect that Mr. Vansittart is much annoyed and embarrassed by it. He informed me about ten days ago that he was coming to this place, and I have not since heard from him.

“I think that I may with propriety confide to you the private perusal of the enclosed which you will have the goodness to return to me. It is written with peevishness, and not quite with candour; but it is acute, and I believe that it is well-founded in regard to the secret influence described with so much energy in the seven first lines of the third page. This enclosure fully contradicts that failure of intellect so brutally reported in yesterday’s newspapers.

“Doctor Busby makes great use in his circulars of your authority towards the increase of the subscribers to his *Lucretius*. He says it is ‘a work which the erudite Chancellor

of Oxford is pleased to think will form a valuable acquisition to the stores of English literature.' Having seen the specimen, I shall suspend my subscription and opinion till I see more.

"We are told that the Duchess-Dowager of Leeds is likely to be the new governess !

"Do you never exchange a few lines with Lord Grey ?"

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1813, January 17. Stowe.—"Tierney can have made no impression upon me on the subject of the East India question, for I have never had more than five minutes' conversation with him ; and such as I had served only to draw forth great difference of opinion between us, inasmuch as he is a strong advocate in theory and principle for the East India Company, and all my theory and principle is against them. I therefore do not agree with him in his partialities to the government of the Court of Directors ; nor do I know whether or not he agrees with me in the apprehensions which I entertain upon the subject of the change which is now in public discussion. I confess that I am not satisfied with your answer in regard to the Indian army, and in reference to the influence of the Company in that country, and I continue to think that under the present circumstances the danger of unprepared and sudden change there is more likely to produce fatal loss than beneficial improvement. Whenever it can be shewn to me that upon sufficient and careful enquiry it appears that the change in question can be operated without the fearful hazards which I apprehend, I shall then be a warm friend to such a change ; but, till then, I am content to submit to a lesser evil rather than incur a greater by too hasty and unadvised a zeal for improvement. The Government and the Regent will be influenced by no such considerations, but I believe that their consciousness of their own incapacity to act upon any great scale will induce them to give way at last to the East India Company. It is at present a game of brag between them, but at that game I am persuaded the Ministers will be beat. I am told that the Prince sent for Lord Chichester upon this occasion, and made him go and converse with Elphinston upon the subject. Now as Lord C[hichester] has no connection or acquaintance with Elphinston, this is only a new proof of the Prince's determination to have his own finger in every pie. I have shewn your letter about Horner to my brother ; he desires me to say that he has never had any communication either by himself or through Temple with Horner ; that he has the same favourable disposition in his own mind, but that under the present circumstances of Shipley, he does not wish to hamper himself by taking any engagement, or by entering into any explanation or negotiation with Horner. Elliot goes on Wednesday to Woburn in his way to London."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1813, February 14. Stowe.—“I write you this separate line for your own private and separate view as I wish to have your opinion about it. I see that Temple is a good deal harassed by the considerations of county and Aylesbury; and I have thought it a duty to my poor dear lost brother and to the interests of his family to take care that they shall not suffer in any shape or degree which I can relieve. I have therefore told Temple, that if at the last he finds no resource without risk to the interests of the family, in that one and only case he may take my name and shadow, if he thinks that by using it for the county, he can for the present save himself from the dilemma of vacating Aylesbury. I have fairly told him that *no case*, not even that of you and Grey being the Ministers, would ever again make me a public man; and that the utmost I can do, if he is driven to make this use of me, is, to go down to the House for three or four of the great questions only; and that to mark my determination of retirement, I should on those occasions sit up in the gallery till the division, as I remember to have seen Lord John Cavendish do in the latter part of his being in the House; but in that case county business and attendance must be done by George. I feel this is a very limited offer, but it is all that I can do, and it costs me not a little to contemplate, even in possibility. Temple is very amiable about it, and very grateful, and has promised not to think of availing himself of this, if he finds any other arrangement that could be taken without risk. If it must be done at last, then I think the proper advertisement would be to state the fact as it is; namely that I had considered myself as retired from public life, but that understanding there was a disposition in the county to testify their memory of the long life that had been till Thursday last devoted to their service by electing one of the same family, I could not refuse to such a motive the offer of such services as might be found consistent with my health, and with my opinions of the present state of affairs, or something of that sort. Then, if the King dies, Temple may have a new disposition to make by George, or if the King lives out the Parliament, Cobham will be ready.

“Write me a line on this to London without delay.”

Postscript.—“I have told Temple that at all events this offer must be subject to your considering it as eligible and practicable.”

EARL GREY to THE SAME.

1813, February 14. Howick.—“I have at last fixed Thursday next for setting out, and hope to reach London on the Sunday or Monday following. I am rather afraid I shall arrive close upon the discussion of the American question, in which I shall

be very ill-prepared, having had no opportunity of reading any of the papers, except in the desultory and imperfect state in which they have been published in the newspapers.

“If the Princess of Wales’s business could be amusing to anybody, it certainly would be to us to see the Prince answering her remonstrance by the advice of those who were her advisers in 1806.

“I forgot to ask your opinion about Burdett’s motion. My own is that, however desirable it might have been to prevent the discussion, being brought on, it must be supported.

“I had not heard till two days ago of Lord Buckingham’s illness. I hope I may believe the accounts which I at the same time received of all immediate alarm being over.

“Poor Lauderdale’s daughter continues in a state of hopeless suffering.”

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1813, February 16. Eden Farm.—“We shall be very much obliged to Lady Grenville for a single line at her convenience, respecting you, and herself ; and also as to the health of Lord and Lady Carysfort.

“It is a scriptural and a practical truth that we are all born to miseries ; but we are constituted to bear them in the first impression by religious submission ; after which our griefs gradually subside into calm regrets and recollections. I wish that Dropmore had been in a state to receive you for a little time before you resettle in London. I need hardly add that if this place could be made of any use, we should be gratified.”

EARL GREY to THE SAME.

1813, February 17. Howick.—“I am on the eve of setting out, having prepared everything to begin my journey to-morrow ; but I cannot forbear expressing to you how sincerely and deeply I feel for your affliction under the heavy loss, of which I received information by the last post, in the public papers. It affected me the more as I found it must have taken place before the day when I last wrote, when I was congratulating you on a different prospect and a better hope ; and thus perhaps unintentionally adding to your regrets. But am I not now intruding on a grief which I cannot hope to alleviate ; and having expressed the true interest I must take in every thing that concerns your happiness, ought I not to be silent !

“I do not expect to reach London before Monday, though I may possibly get there on Sunday night, and shall hope to see you as soon as may be convenient to you after my arrival. I cannot travel very fast, both on account of the numerous tribe that accompanies me, and not being myself in very good

trim for my journey, having since I last wrote had another of those attacks, which, though it is gone off, has left me, as those attacks always do, very uncomfortable."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1813, February 20. Cleveland Square.—“ You will rejoice to hear that the improvements here correspond with the good accounts which you send of our dear Elizabeth, and which I hope extend to Lord Carysfort's tormenting asthma, which seems to have returned quicker than usual, though I trust it lasted as shortly as you describe it to have done. I am glad you are going to Dropmore, where a few days will do you real good and enable you to make your kind visit to Stowe at a later period with less pain and prejudice to yourself.

“ Lord Glastonbury threatens us with a demur to Elliot's motion for a new writ, on the ground of Temple's not having yet obtained a writ of summons ; but I am sure that never used to be required, and the Berkeley case proves it. Besides, if the House of Commons was to adopt the practice of never ordering a new writ till the writ of summons had been obtained, Temple might for any reason of his own decline to apply for his writ of summons and so keep the county unrepresented for a whole Parliament. Elliot is confident as I am that Lord Glastonbury is wrong, unless some new regulation is now to be adopted of which we know nothing. The truth is the House of Commons should in these cases exercise its own discretion, and should order a new writ where the succession to a peerage is undisputed, and should demur and delay to do so in cases where it is disputed. As this business approaches it presses more upon me, but I am encouraged to believe I need scarce ever attend ; and, in truth, what encourages me still more is the conviction that I am doing by my poor dear brother and his family what his own kind heart would most have wished me to do ; and with that reflection I subdue and satisfy my own feelings.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1813, February 21. Cleveland Square.—“ This day's post from Stowe, with great delicacy, but with great earnestness, claimed my promise. I have therefore engaged myself, and have given to Chaplin an advertisement for the county papers of Saturday, before which day the last melancholy offices will have been completed : the writ will be moved on next Monday, and proclaimed on Tuesday the 23rd in order to have the election on Friday the 5th. I fear I must go down to the town-hall for the election, but I shall quit the town the moment that is completed.”

EARL GREY to THE SAME.

1813, February 23. Portman Square.—“I arrived here on Monday evening quite well.

“I found your two letters on my arrival. It gave me pleasure to hear from you, but I felt some self-reproach for having put you to the trouble of writing at such a moment.

“God knows I would not intrude upon the retirement which in your place I should feel to be so necessary to me. But when you can bear it, may not the necessity of some exertion be useful? Till to-morrow se’nnight, when Wellesley’s motion comes on, I know of no business in the House of Lords. What that motion is to be I have not exactly heard. If for an enquiry I see no objection; but the case to be made out seems to me to be rather a misapplication of means, than their deficiency; and perhaps in this respect Lord Wellington himself may be as vulnerable as the Ministers.

“You will have seen the event of Burdett’s motion in the papers, which is all I have seen or known of it. In the way the proposition was brought forward, it seems to me to have been impossible for our friends to avoid supporting it. I indeed should have been inclined to support a direct proposition for vesting the Regency in the Princess Charlotte; though certainly as unwilling as you can be to mix in any of the quarrels of the family.

“They seem to have collected together a strange sort of council on the Princess’s business; and what measure they may have in contemplation I cannot even guess. All I know is that the Prince is agitated by this matter to the greatest degree.

“I hear the Weymouth election with respect to three of the seats will certainly be void; and so strong a case has been made that the committee, if it does right, must report specially against the Duke of Cumberland. This is a just retribution for the Hampshire election. The committee decide to-day.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1813, February 27. Cleveland Square.—“Nothing can be more striking than the warm feelings of kindness by which Temple shews himself the heir of all his loved father’s affectionate heart. He has literally overpowered me by the ardour of his affection. He had found in his father’s letters that I received from his office 1,200*l. per annum*, and as soon as he found it, he wrote in the most eager and urgent terms to implore me to let him continue to pay 600*l. per annum*, from his persuasion that some such wish would have been found, if my poor brother’s will could have been discovered. I made him for this handsome and kind offer the acknowledgments which became me, but absolutely declined the acceptance, assuring him that in conscience and honour I was persuaded

that no such disposition ever existed, and admitting that I would give way if ever he should find any evidence of such a disposition among the papers. I thought the matter was thus concluded; but when the will was found, he returned to the same topic with so much affectionate expostulation, declared himself to be so wretched in finding such a loss in my income, and conjured me with so much tenderness not to repeat to him the pain and mortification of a refusal, that my scruples have yielded to his affection, and though not without painful and conscientious reluctance, I have consented to incur this obligation from him. It is quite impossible for any body to have shewn more delicacy, more real and affectionate feeling, than he has shewn upon this occasion; and I am the more earnest to take the first opportunity of repeating this, as he in vain imposes upon me an ideal obligation of secrecy by which, in justice to him, I certainly do not mean to be held."

EARL GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1813, March 2. Portman Square.—"I don't know that it is worth while to give you the trouble even of sending a proxy for Wellesley's motion on Thursday. I have not heard that any measures have been taken to procure an attendance, and I should not imagine that he intends to divide. I don't even know what the motion is to be. For though I had a general intimation from Holland of his wish to have some communication with me upon it, for which I of course expressed my readiness, I have heard nothing further on the subject.

"You will have heard, of course, that a report has been agreed upon and sent to the Princess of Wales. In consequence of this I hear she yesterday wrote letters to the Speaker, and to the Chancellor, for the purpose of their being produced to the two Houses; which, however, was not done by either of them. I do not give you this as positive information, though from the way in which I heard it, I am induced to believe it.

"The committee on the Catholic question will, I think, certainly be carried. Then our difficulties begin. As we must now wait for the further proceedings of the House of Commons, I do not imagine the question can be discussed in our House before Easter. The Indian question I suppose will also be brought to us after that period. I know of nothing else of any interest, and I feel generally all the disinclination that you do to any active exertions. I shall of course be present at Wellesley's motion, but I do not think I shall take any part on it, unless I am compelled to do so by some reference to what has formerly passed with respect to the war in the Peninsula."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1813, March 5. Portman Square.—"I had on Wednesday at his own desire an interview with Lord Wellesley on his

intended motion. Its form and object I understand him to have communicated to you, and there appears to me good ground for an enquiry. For *us* there cannot be a better case. Either the failure of the last campaign must have been owing, as Wellesley asserts, to the deficiency or misapplication of means ; or the contest is even more hopeless than we have at any time represented it to be. He was induced to postpone this discussion in order to give time for procuring an attendance ; but, principally, because yesterday the curiosity which had been excited by the expected debate in the House of Commons would have left us to speak to empty benches in the House of Lords. If this delay should diminish your unwillingness to attend, I shall rejoice in it. I am most unwilling to press anything that may be disagreeable to you, but I do wish both for your own sake and that of your friends that you could now begin to take a little part in affairs, from which it is impossible you should entirely withdraw yourself. The first effort may be painful, but its effect, I would fain hope, cannot fail to prove beneficial to you.

“Your stay at Dropmore cannot, at any rate, be very protracted, if, as you said in your last letter to me, you intend to be present at the discussion of the East Indian question. Castlereagh’s motion stands I believe for Monday, and Lord Liverpool told me yesterday that if he carries his resolutions, as he expects, they will immediately be communicated to the House of Lords, and the discussion brought on there with as little delay as possible. He stated himself to be uninformed of the intentions of the East India Company as to the manner in which they mean to support their case, whether by an enquiry and evidence at the Bar, or by simply opposing the measures proposed by Government in debate. If in the former mode, he said it was his intention to have the enquiry proceed if possible simultaneously in both Houses.

“I have seen Lord Auckland this morning, who intends sending to you, if possible, by to-day’s post a printed statement of Vansittart’s new plan of finance. I do not profess to understand it ; and in any case you would obtain better information from the author’s own exposition, than from the statement of any other person. I hear that the opinion of the City, and as far as a judgment can be formed from the discussion on the first proposal, of the House of Commons also, is so strongly against it, that it is not likely to be carried.

“With respect to the Princess of Wales it appears to me that the Chancellor and those Ministers who signed the Cabinet minute of 1807, and who have now signed the present report, have disgraced themselves in a way which it is painful to think of even in the case of one’s political enemies. Not the least curious part of this proceeding is the different course taken by the Speaker and the Chancellor with respect to the

letter. The general opinion, and I confess I incline to that way of thinking, though quite ignorant upon matters of this nature, is that the Speaker did right. Lord Lansdowne, who appears to be strongly inclined to that view, means, I believe, to put some question to the Chancellor upon it to-day; but to make it clear at the same time that he has nothing to do with the business. I have told him that I see no objection to the question, though I would not put it myself, nor interfere, unless compelled to do so by a strong public duty, in any way.

"If you should come to town before Saturday se'nnight, will you dine here to meet Plunket?"

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1813, March 6. Eden Farm.—"I was in town yesterday morning and saw Lord Grey, Lord Lansdowne and others. There seemed to be a general and earnest wish to see you resettled in Camelford House, and in the scene of action, at least till Easter; for your own sake, and for public concerns; and I believe that Lord Grey is writing to this effect.

"I do not see any probable means of doing any good, but the effort is perhaps imposed on you as a sort of duty.

"The warfare between the Prince and Princess is understood to give much mutual pain and agitation, and so far it is successful on the part of both belligerent powers. The poor Princess, however, fights against great odds; being single-handed against the whole power of the Crown and court of all the twenty-four big wigs.

"It is a moral lesson to mankind which has been strongly exemplified in our days that royalty has a sovereign portion of human infirmity and wretchedness.

"You of course know that Mr. Grattan is to move a comprehensive resolution on Tuesday, and not to bring in the Bill till after the recess.

"The Ministers mean to proceed to evidence on the India business at the same time in both Houses.

"Mr. Vansittart will have sent to you the explanation of his plan. It is neither more or less in effect that an appropriation, within the next four years, of about 5,500,000*l. per annum*, to find the interest of the next four loans.

"The measure does not seem to occasion any depression in the money market, and nobody cares for the abandonment of the sinking fund provided that a breathing time can be found in the system of taxation.

"We live in a tragic-comical world. What will now pass quietly would in any other conjuncture have been contemplated with dismay and despair as a national bankruptcy.

"I write this scrawl in much haste, our cavalry being at the door—by our cavalry I mean a pony and a donkey."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1813, March. Cleveland Square.—“ Grey tells me that he has seen a *Moniteur* with a letter from Bonaparte to his Regent Empress at Paris, dated Dresden the 18th, in which he says that with the concurrence of Austria he has proposed to all the different belligerent powers, including the Americans, and the *insurgés* in Spain, as well as the King of Spain, to send Ministers to a congress at Prague, for a general peace; and he adds that if England refuses herself to this measure, that still all the other powers may make peace, but that he himself will make no peace with England, except upon the maritime grounds described in the Treaty of Utrecht. He adds that he will agree to an armistice as soon as the congress shall meet. There is moreover a report of a battle having taken place on the 20th in which the French claim the victory. Lord Whitworth is a peer, and is to go Lord Lieutenant to Ireland!!! the Duke of Beaufort having refused it, and Lord Yarmouth also having declined it.

“ The Opposition dinner adopted the notion of giving a dinner to the Irish delegates, which is to take place. Lord Grey desires me to say that he readily agrees with you as to making no motion.

“ Lord Uxbridge has writ to Lauderdale to say that he knew nothing of the vote of any one of his members, and had not said the smallest syllable to any one of them on the subject of the Catholic question.

“ Our list-makers say that 301 of this House of Commons have already voted for the principle of the Catholic Bill.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1813, May 7. Cleveland Square.—“ I heard so much praise of your speech when it was spoken, that it may probably be well received in print, although the one is not the necessary consequence of the other. I see too by the papers that Lauderdale has taken the field against the Board of Control in a new pamphlet of enquiry. You know that in the hands of Lord Buckinghamshire and Lord Moira my fears of change prevail over my hopes, and incline me rather ‘to bear the ills we have, than fly to others that we know not of.’ The zeal of the Dissenters and Baptists and of our own Church for Indian Christianity adds much to my fears for our Indian Empire. Their activity spreads through the whole country; and even the smallest parishes send up crowded petitions to this effect. We are conquerors in India, and I do not like a regiment of missionaries acting under and with the authority of unresisted power. The Spaniards professed to convert the poor Mexicans to the true faith, but it was with fire and sword and stranglings and such like; and if we are really mad

enough to march from Clapham Common to overturn the religion of all India, Monro and Simmons should succeed Lord Moira and Sir G. Barlow at Calcutta and Madras."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1813, May 7.] Cleveland Square.—"If I dine on Thursday it must be with Fitzwilliam, but the second reading of the Catholic Bill will probably prevent me; so I will reserve Friday to dine with you if you dine at home. I was one of the 235 to 187 at two this morning, and do not feel refreshed by it to-day. Canning's was an admirable speech, though his attack on Hipposley was breaking a fly upon the wheel; but the lead which the admiration of the House gives him must make him the great feature of it. Castlereagh's speech seemed intended to commit him irrevocably to the general measure; though he has reserved details, and may urge them inconveniently. If he does not absolutely turn tail, the Bill will be carried.

"I am not at all satisfied with your answer about India. They had missionaries, and they received them in India, it is true, before we conquered it; and if we had not conquered it, I should not object to the labours of any pious missionaries; but our power and empire there makes the whole difference."

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1813, May 21. Eden Farm.—"We accidentally learnt on Tuesday that Lady Grenville and you were making some stay in town, and we meant to call at Camelford House on Wednesday, but I happened to meet Mr. Charles Wynne in Westminster and learnt that you were 'off.'

"We have had a quiet existence here, though seldom entirely without company. Our fields, shrubberies and gardens are in a state of luxuriant beauty beyond what I ever saw. Lady Auckland, Mary, and I ride almost every day. I was, however, laid up nearly a fortnight by an awkward sprain, the effects of which are now gradually going away.

"Buonaparte's preternatural energies are beyond all comprehension. That having lost his immense army in December, and having passed through Dresden as a fugitive in a post-chaise, he should return to Dresden in the beginning of May at the head of 150,000 fresh troops after fighting and defeating a larger army of veterans on ground chosen by themselves, is a feat quite novel in the annals of mankind. I shall not be surprised if the Russians should retreat to the Oder and abandon Berlin and Hamburgh and the small German states to all the horrors of French vengeance. Still after what happened last year both in the south and north of Europe it is difficult to form calculations on apparent probabilities.

“It begins to be a doubt whether either the East India charter or the Catholic concessions will be completely adjusted in this session ; but it is now pretty well ascertained that the latter have the general sense of the kingdom and will be carried either in this session or in the next.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1813, May 22. Eden Farm.—“Jacobi asserts that the Prussian force alone amounts to 130,000 men, exclusive of 50,000 militia. But his assertions are always to be received with distrust. The Emperor of Russia has declined receiving the Duke of Cumberland. And as the French Princes are gone also without any invitation or preconcert, their journey may probably terminate at Heligoland. It is supposed that their motive is to do away the reproach of their friends in France, that they do not come forwards to fight their own cause.

“There are apprehensions that Buonaparte is cajoling the Emperor of Russia and may arrange some sudden peace on the condition principally of excluding our trade to the continent. The conduct of Denmark as to Hamburgh is not considered as any mark of a disposition to befriend the Allies ; but anything which may keep the French out of Hamburgh or mitigate a possible recapture of the place is thought good.

“Nothing is yet known of the intentions of the Court of Vienna, on which so much depends.”

Private.—“These small items are from my brother, who has passed the week at Windsor Castle. He adds that the poor King is perfectly well in bodily health.

“I did not till this morning read the new clauses respecting the proposed commissions to superintend the nomination of Catholic bishops. You are infinitely better able than I am to form a judgment whether that arrangement is likely to be admissible in Ireland. I incline to fear that it will be rejected with anger ; and yet it may be argued to be a measure not of control but of due and rightful precaution.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1813, May 24. Eden Farm.—“The printed substance of your India speech was a most acceptable arrival here. George, Mr. Wedderburn and I gave separate perusals to it yesterday, and discussed it together afterwards, and were much struck by its admirable perspicuity in reasoning and in language. We think that it will do much good, and that it will enforce a better consideration than has yet been given to a subject involving interests of such eventual magnitude and extent.

“The Ministers mean to press the adoption of their half-measure in this session ; but perhaps they may still be obliged

to carry it over to another year ; at all events, whatever is done should be experimental, and at the utmost for seven years.

“ What you say as to the Hertford school is perfectly just, and it is a misfortune to the individuals so educated to lose their mixed friendships and early habits which are to be found and formed only in the great seminaries. But the same objection applies to the Bengal College, and to the Woolwich and Blackwater academies, all of which tend to create a sort of janizary system and separated castes. The blame perhaps rests on the defective plans of our great schools and universities, which are too much narrowed to furnish the means of oriental, military, and naval education.

“ Pray tell Lady Grenville that there are in the press three new volumes by Miss Edgeworth, two by Madame d’Arblay (Miss Burney) and one by Madame de Stahl [Stäel].”

EARL GREY TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1813, May 27. Portman Square.—“ I received your letter and your brother’s yesterday, and lost no time in consulting with George Ponsonby and Elliot on the expediency of renewing the discussion of the Catholic question in either of the forms which you suggested. My doubts were confirmed by their opinions. We agreed, after talking the matter over, in thinking that it would not be advisable to make a new motion this year. We could not hope for a good attendance and division even of our own friends, under the recent impression produced by the loss of the Bill ; and some of them indeed are already gone to Ireland. If the object be to prevent the Catholics from looking to any other means than those which the renewed discussion of their case in Parliament may afford them for the relief of which they have now been so cruelly disappointed, we think that object would not be obtained by a bad division ; that it would be better to rest on the numbers which we showed in the last effort ; and that the best way to keep their hopes alive, if they are not already destroyed by resentment and despair, will be for Grattan to take an immediate opportunity in any question that may produce a good attendance, to state his feelings on the late proceeding, the situation in which the question is left, and his determination to bring forward the measure again at the very beginning of the next session. In this way we think all the effect that could result from a new proceeding would be produced, in your view of it, without the danger and disadvantage of a weak division. The first proceedings of the Catholic Board on receiving the clauses, even before they hear of the loss of the Bill, will I am afraid be strongly, if not violently, against the proposed securities ; this at present would operate unfavourably as to numbers ; it may subside, or other causes may counteract its effect before the next year ;

and it is moreover highly desirable, we all think, that Grattan's notice should be given upon his view as a legislator of the danger arising from the present state of the question, and independently of any of the measures which may be taken by the Catholic body. I hope you will think our determination right ; it was unavoidable, for I find upon further enquiry that our friends are generally adverse to any further proceeding this year ; and I have no doubt that both Canning and Castlereagh would be strongly against it.

"The Duke of Norfolk, I see, for I know nothing of it but what I see in this morning's paper, has given notice of a motion for relieving the Irish Catholics from the operation of the Test Act when they come here. However right this may be in itself, I can hardly doubt your agreement with me in thinking that any partial measure of this nature is at this moment highly inexpedient. It may however furnish us with an opportunity, if you think it would be advantageous to use it, of saying something on what has passed in the House of Commons, and of the absolute necessity of looking to a new consideration of the question at the earliest possible moment of the next session. The same reasons which influence me with respect to the House of Commons induces me to think that it will be better not to have a motion this year in the House of Lords ; and if you agree with me, Lord Donoughmore, I think, will be guided by our opinions.

"But should we not have some general discussion which would embrace this, and the circumstances of the war, before we separate for the summer ? and if we should, in what form should it be brought on ? This signifies little as to numbers in the House of Lords, as, let the question be what it may, our division will, in all probability, be nearly the same. But it is of some importance as to public effect and appearance ; and I feel that there is something almost ludicrous in the present state of parties ; and after having moved it so often, in moving for a committee on the state of the nation. What do you think of a representation to the Crown, confined principally to the three points of the Catholic question, the Continental war, and the war with America, though the state of our own business should not be omitted ? If you approve of this idea, will you draw it, and move it ?

"Your brother will have told you of the undisguised and indecent canvass made by Carlton House for the late division. The Prince said publicly at his table a day or two before, that nobody would vote for the question who did not wish to endanger his title to the Crown. And they say that somebody has really succeeded in putting this notion into his head ; which is only saying that he is as mad as his father. To describe their infatuation is impossible. What do you think of their having actually established an 'Orange Club,' *eo*

nomine, which is to meet to-day for the first time at Lord Yarmouth's, the Duke of York being announced as President. It was proposed in a letter to Lord Huntley to have it at Richmond House, which he declined; and it is from his communication to the Duke of Bedford that I state this fact, which otherwise would have appeared to me quite incredible. The accounts from the Continent require no comment. You will see those published by the French, and those by the Russians and Lord Cathcart; and a comparison of both with the map will enable you to judge of the credit due to them. I will only say that I have seen detailed accounts from officers who were in the battle, and the retreat, which lead me to form even a worse opinion of the future prospects of the Allies than would result from giving the fullest credit to the statements of the enemy.

"It will not be in my power to go to Dropmore either this week or next; and probably something or other will bring you to town within that period, when I may fix some future time for paying you a visit."

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1813, May 30. Eden Farm.—"The Catholic question is brought to a strange predicament by the disagreement between its leading advocates in the House of Commons and the Irish bishops. Surely there was a want of due consideration in those who framed the new machinery without previously ascertaining that it would be reconcilable to the essential doctrines and practices of the religion to which that machinery was to be applied.

"The schism now created on the point of securities will bear heavily, for a time, on the whole measure, and will probably lead to a teasing and irritating detail of bills separately removing the disabilities respecting the professions and public offices, and reserving the judicial and parliamentary claims.

"I do not know how far Lord Grey was implicated in the adjustment made between Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Canning and Lord Castlereagh. It is understood that you were no party to that determination, and perhaps till the subject shall open itself further by the actual collision of feelings and passions in Ireland, there is some advantage in your keeping back any opinions.

"I fear that you under-value the French victory at Lutzen. Buonaparte may have many embarrassments now and in the prosecution of the campaign; but it will not surprise me if he should immediately drive the Allies over the upper Oder, and perhaps to the Vistula before the end of July.

"He will consequently have the full conquest of Germany,

and with the concurrence of the Court of Vienna ; which may be richly repaid by cessions in the south of Europe.

“ The Ministers speak highly of your speech, but I am told that they mean nevertheless to establish their own system, which you have shewn to be fallacious, and for 21 years.

“ They are much perplexed as to the loan, which in the actual state of the world is peculiarly liable to be followed by a sudden variation of ten or twenty *per cent.* in the public funds.

“ Lord Carrington and George Eden came to this place to-day to breakfast, and passed the morning with us. Lord Carrington is going with his son to make a tour in Ireland.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE SAME.

1813, June 9. Cleveland Square.—“ Lord FitzWilliam has just called upon me to say that the Prince of Wales had sent Lord Dundas to him, to say from the Regent how *scandalously* and *maliciously* he, the Regent, had been so far misrepresented as to have been reported that he had spoken disrespectfully of Lord F[itizWilliam] ; that the whole of this was a base lie and invention, and that he authorised and directed Lord Dundas to say so from him to Lord F[itizWilliam], and to everybody else who had heard of the *scandalous* report so *falsely* attributed to him. Lord F[itizWilliam] told me that his answer was civilly to acknowledge the honour that the Prince did him in contradicting the report that had been so much circulated ; and in thus assuring Lord F[itizWilliam] that he might still flatter himself that he retained the good opinion of the Prince of Wales. This seems to have been a proper answer, but he told me he wanted advice about going or not to the next *levée*. I told him fairly that I was against his going ; that I saw this denial of the Prince of words which *too many* people heard, had arisen only out of the mortification that he had felt at the Duke of B[edford] and Lord and Lady S[pencer] and others having refused to go to Carleton House ; and that I did not see any reason for Lord F[itizWilliam] to go to the *levée* now more than he would have done without this message. I added that for my own part I had determined not to go to Carleton House as long as the marked exclusion of Lords G[rey] and G[renville] continued to prevail there. He told me he quite agreed in all my aristocratical notions upon this, and would determine not to go to the *levée*.

“ I think this retraction of the Prince, with his profession of the ‘ highest veneration for Lord F[itizWilliam],’ for those are the present words, much more disgusting than the original abuse. But I find the Prince’s new friends already complaining of his treatment of them. What do you think of his having had the Duke of Rutland and Duke of Beaufort to a dinner of 18 or 20 people, at which the Prince addressed himself aloud

to the two dukes, and desired to give a toast to the company : ' Here is the health of Lord Whitworth, who is entitled to my praise, and that of his country, for his public-spirited and patriotic conduct, in sacrificing his own ease and convenience to the superior call of public duty, by accepting the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.'

" I am told that the Duke of R[utland] has said that he does not see why the Princee need have invited him to dine at Carleton House if it was only to insult him when he came there. Lady St. John's brother is just arrived from the battle of Bautzen in which he was present ; he says that only 45,000 of the Allies were in action against above 100,000 of the French, and that their retreat was perfectly orderly and without any the smallest degree of trepidation or rout. He says French and Allies are equally sick of being killed and wounded, and are anxious for peace. He left Berlin the 25th ; he says they are all satisfied of the Austrian good wishes, but do not expect them to join actively in the war. He says when he left Berlin Bernadotte was still at Stralsund with only 18,000 men, and that there are no great expectations from him.

" Lord Melville has just given the *Pallas*, a new frigate of 38 now at Portsmouth, to Proby ; he will now be like other men again, and I need not tell you what a joy this will be to Lord Carysfort.

" My letter is too late for the post, and must go to-morrow by your groom with the phaeton.

" Mr. Knight has sent to me to beg a copy of your speech, which he has read with great admiration as expressing ' the sentiments of a statesman in the language of an orator.'

" Pray make Chisholm send him your speech from you, as he will like it better than from me ; he lives in Soho Square."

THOMAS GRENVILLE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

[1813, June 9. Cleveland Square.]—" I am told that the Duke of Brunswick says he is returned because the war is over ; and I hear it attributed to him to say that an English one pound note is worth upon the Continent twelve shillings ; if so, the war is over.

" Sir Charles Knightly marries Miss Hervey, the elder daughter of Mrs. Fremantle. Lord Shrewsbury has given a *fête* to the cost of 5,000*l.* with transferable tickets, producing such a medley as never yet was seen in any peer's house in London.

" Lord Thurlow marries Miss Bolton, the reigning princess of every pantomime for the last five years of Covent Garden Theatre. Such are the histories of the times."

EARL GREY to THE SAME.

1813, June 12. Portman Square.—“ The treaty with Sweden was laid on the table of the House of Lords yesterday, and you will see it printed in this morning’s papers. It cannot be necessary to suggest to you the observations which arise upon it, or the practical comment which the present circumstances of the Continental war afford ; and it would hardly be possible to do so in a letter. But the case appears to me to be so strong that I think we ought to have a discussion upon it, which in my opinion is rendered more necessary by the notice which I see Whitbread has given on our Continental relations generally, as well as on the question of peace ; in order that we may explain for ourselves our own views of these matters, and prevent, if possible, their being mixed and confounded in the public opinion with those of others, which we may not approve. Such a discussion however can be had to no useful purpose if you do not attend, and take a part in it ; and, however reluctantly, I cannot help expressing a wish that you may be induced to make the sacrifice of one day for this purpose. The day at present fixed for the consideration of this treaty is Thursday ; but, if you determine to attend, and it would better suit your convenience, I will endeavour to get it postponed to the Monday following. To this I think the Ministers cannot object, the more especially as they have not thought proper to lay the treaty before us till this period, though it was signed on the third of March ; and further information, such as the engagement between Sweden and Russia, the money actually paid, and the steps taken by Sweden in performance of her part of the contract, and for which I shall press on Monday, is so obviously required before we can enter fairly into the consideration of this arrangement. I suggest this delay, because as you talked of coming to town for one day on the Indian question, and the resolutions may probably be brought before the House of Lords about the time I have mentioned, you may, if it is agreed to, kill two birds with one stone.

“ The Ministers, I understand, are still very sanguine about the co-operation of Austria ; and even Mr. Broughton, I am told, notwithstanding his imprisonment, which is true as it was stated in the papers, expresses the same opinion. He represents the Austrian Government as quite French, but the feeling of the army and the public opinion so strong the other way, that they are likely to prevail. This seems to me to lead to a continuance of the same temporizing and uncertain conduct which has before been observed in Austria ; and which probably will render any effort she may ultimately make ineffectual. On the other hand he states our duplicity with respect to Sweden to be complete, and that not a man at

Stralsund, except the British Envoy, has the least expectation that the Crown Prince will advance a yard out of Pomerania. Indeed he cannot without exposing his rear and flank to the Danes and French on the lower Elbe. His stipulated 30,000 men are under 18,000.

“Our Catholic dinner went off as well as such a thing could do. You will easily believe that it was not from inclination that I attended it.

“If that time suits you I hope to pay you a visit the week after next; that is, as soon as the Swedish and Indian businesses are disposed of.”

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1813, June 13. Eden Farm.—“I will state without reserve our existing arrangements for Tuesday. By an invitation of long standing we are on that day to give a dinner at half-past five to Sir Ralph and Lady Milbanke, and Miss Milbanke and Miss Montgomery; and Mr. Eden comes also with Captain Feilding of the navy and Colonel Bathurst, and possibly he may have asked Mr. Horner. I believe that it will be a pleasant party, and that neither Lady Grenville nor you would be annoyed by it. We shall therefore be sincerely glad if you should come on Tuesday. They all leave us in the evening.

“We are, however, quite disengaged on Wednesday, except that we are to be at Marlborough House for half an hour at two o'clock. We shall return on that day so as to be here at half past four; and we have no company, and we dine at five. On Thursday, Friday and Saturday we are at present quite disengaged. Under these circumstances I will hope to hear by to-morrow night's post that you decide either to come on Tuesday, or that you prefer and will name one of the four following days. In the latter case you will find us quite *en famille*, in the midst of rose-hedges and haymaking.

“I think that you will have a debate on Thursday on the Swedish treaty (!!!). You may possibly have House of Lords business on Friday, but certainly not the East India Bill, which will not come to the Lords to be registered before the dog days. If you should be detained in town so long, the handsome thing would be to come on Saturday in your way to Dropmore on Monday.

“I have only to repeat that all days are equally acceptable to us. If your notice should not be too short we shall perhaps take the chance of asking Lord Fortescue to dinner; and also Lady Grey, who has talked of driving over to us for a couple of hours.

“Sir Charles Stuart's statement that at Bautzen the allied army had not more than 64,000 men is confirmed by Mr.

Boughton, and leaves little doubt in my mind that Buonaparte will dictate the terms of pacification to the Emperor of Russia. What equivalent we shall obtain for our million sterling and Guadaloupe to Sweden is not quite so clear."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1813, [June-July]. Eden Farm.—"It is understood, possibly by mistake, that your East India speech is not published; Lord Chichester wrote to me for it 'as he could not procure it from his bookseller' and I enclose the note with which he returned it, which note you will destroy. Other friends have since applied to me for the perusal. Without any compliment, it is a publication which cannot be too much circulated.

"It begins to be doubted whether the East India Bill can be carried in this session; and certainly it is desirable to make a pause, unless the Government will consent to limit the measure to seven or ten years.

"The four principal appointments made by the Regent have been, Lord Cathcart for the superintendence of Russia and Prussia councils; Mr. Rose, junior, for the interests of the Baltic; Lord Moira for our Indian Empire; and Lord Whitworth for the Vice-Royalty of Ireland!!!!

"The loan is to be made, I believe, next Wednesday, probably on terms much worse than last year; and it will not be easy, if such a loan should be wanted another year, to make it on any terms.

"We look forwards with pleasure to the chance of seeing Lady Grenville and you here; but we consider it only as a chance; for we are not so unreasonable as to expect it unless the Parliamentary business should be such as to force you from Dropmore for three or four days. In that event I shall be glad of an intimation, that our little engagements may be managed accordingly. . . .

"I have been amused by the perusal of the three thick octavos of the *Correspondence littéraire du Baron de Grimm*. I knew him well, and many of the individuals whom he mentions. He was unprincipled and somewhat profligate; but had wit, and lived much with all the mischievous wits and writers of the period which he describes."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1813, July 2. Eden Farm.—"It will not give you much trouble to commit the enclosed note to the flames, as it will probably find you at your fireside on the first of the dog days. I send it in order to express my regret that the merchants have not published the speech alluded to—and now the period is passed in which your opinions would have had a general circulation and good effect. By the bye, some of our friends

a few days ago strongly regretted at my table that another of your speeches in this session had not been published. I gave a broken attention at the moment but I think that they alluded to your speech on Lord Harrowby's Bill.

"I mentioned to you a provision in the new Act for the redemption of land tax, which might possibly be of some use to you. I now send the clause in question; we can refer to it when the next projected visit to Dropmore shall take place.

"The *Morning Post* and prorogation speech will discover the triumphant liberation of Spain in the retrograde movement of the French army. The perversity of my understanding leads to a different inference—a few months will shew."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1813, July. Cleveland Square.]—"We are preparing for a third night of illumination, with the same feverish ignorance which John Bull is so apt to display. By the best accounts that I can scrape up, it is evident to me that when the letters of the 24th were written three days after the battle, we had not quite 2,000 prisoners, and if you suppose the enemy lost more killed than prisoners, still their loss will not have exceeded ours, which is unheard of considering our capture of all their artillery. Pampeluna, St. Sebastian, and St. Jean de Luz are said to be all strong but small; the first, if victualled, almost impregnable; but the French papers of to-day announce that on the 23rd or 24th of June, Murray, with 13,000 men attacked Tarragona and was repulsed, losing 4,000 men, and had re-embarked; if so, this is a great blow to the hopes entertained.

"The Prince at his *fête* said that the accounts from Germany are all he could wish, and that the *minimum* proposed to Bonaparte is to retire into the ancient limits of France!!! If so, you will not retain your confidence in a general peace. But the drunken and inflamed enthusiasm of London is at this moment ready for eternal war."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1813, July. Cleveland Square.]—"My paper tells me that Lord Castlereagh puts the French loss at 12,000 men, and I am surprised to see that Fremantle said it was double that number; where he learns this I know not, for he told me that his nephew reported only 2,000 prisoners.

"I am no detractor from Lord Wellington, whose talents I am glad to see rewarded by placing him really at the head of our army; but it is quite ridiculous to state him as driving the French out of Spain, when, in truth, they are making no efforts in it, but have withdrawn from thence all the *élite* of their army to carry it into Saxony. It is when the French

are in force and in earnest in their Spanish war, that we must see whether he can keep them out of it; Lord Wellington commands now 90,000 men."

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1813, August 4. Eden Farm.—"I understand from Lord Bulkeley, who is passing three or four days at my sister's, that Lady Grenville and you are meditating a Cornish tour. We shall be glad to know when you are likely to return; we are at present under a sort of promise to go into Berkshire and Oxfordshire about the third week of September, and had hoped in the course of that circuit to be received for three or four days at Dropmore; but I begin to apprehend that you will be obliged to postpone us to a later period of the year.

"I met Lord Holland on Thursday last at Fitzroy Farm; he had had a letter from Lord Grey who was recovering from a severe attack of the complaint to which he is subject.

"Sir James Mackintosh is here for two or three days; I had obtained for him (at the desire of Lord Holland) permission to examine the Marlborough papers, for his proposed continuation of Hume's history. He is to us quite a new acquaintance; we find him pleasant, and full of information.

"Have you seen a pamphlet published by Sir Robert Barlow entitled *The protests of Mr. Parry, Mr. Smith, Mr. Astell, Mr. Babb, and Mr. Grant, Directors, against the resolutions of the Court by which Lord Minto and Sir George Nugent were recalled?* Lord Glenbervie has brought it to me, and is as much surprised by it as I am; the spirit of the whole transaction is such as to imply in the majority of the Directors a most inadequate sense of the nature and importance of Lord Minto's services; and we think that he will be much wounded by it. This vote of recall took place in November last, immediately previous to the nomination of Lord Moira."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1813, August 4. Wynnstay.—"I had a few lines from Lord Holland but nothing new except that he understood our Ministers now despaired of Austria, and that new differences had arisen between Russia and Sweden.

"I shall not rejoice to hear of our Field-Marshal entering France, nor have I any faith in the Toulon insurrection; but I am strongly persuaded that the frontiers of France will be vigorously defended, and that we shall make there no substantial or real impression. As an insult to France and Bonaparte I do not object to our alarming them with our light troops, and Mina, and Don Julian, but more than this would in my mind be desperate folly."

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1813, August 21. Eden Farm.—“I have had so prosperous a season both for the hay harvest and corn harvests, and have so extraordinary a display of full barns, and large stacks, all in good condition, that I am for the present reconciled to farming.

“Our new victories do not remove my old doubts and apprehensions respecting the final result. I incline even to believe that Soult is in a condition to renew his attacks; and that we must expect ‘more last words from Jeremy Baxter.’ In short it is ‘still beginning never ending,’ and after all, the whole must depend on the event of the German struggle.

“I am reading since yesterday a *quarto* life of Sir Joshua Reynolds by Northcot. It is in the style of Boswell’s memoirs, but of very inferior merit, and with less originality. Still it is sufficiently interesting.

“Sir James Pulteney’s will is set aside, and the Pulteney property goes to the divorced wife of the Dean of York: Sir James had wished to give it to the Markham children.

“We have been somewhat too popular here lately, and are still occupied by interchanges of dinners with the neighbourhood.

“Lord Hood was here two days: I learnt during my ride that ‘an upright elderly gentleman’ was walking on the lawn above the house. I came home and found him there, and he walked to see my hay-stacks. He is in his 90th year, in good spirits, and full voice.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1813, September 20. Eden Farm.—“We set off to-morrow on our fortnight’s circuit to Richings, Blenheim, Oxford, Shottesbrook, Englefield Green and Bushy Park, and we hope to resettle here on the 4th or 5th October. If you should have any occasion to write, the accustomed direction will always find me, and without delay.

“You have beautiful weather for your Cornish tour, but your climate cannot be finer than what we have enjoyed here during the last three weeks. We cannot picture or reconcile to our imaginations your existence for so long a time, all alone. We still hope to pass three or four days with Lady Grenville and you at Dropmore before the close of the year, though it will be an effort of some difficulty to us to move again.

“I enclose George Eden’s two last letters from his wandering through Ireland. He left the Lansdowns at the Giant’s Causeway, on their road to Minto. His Dublin despatch contains what I had already heard of the late irritating and illiberal principles and practices of Irish government. His account of Mr. Grattan’s mode of existence is pleasing enough.

"I have been doggedly busy as a farmer this summer and autumn, and I begin to believe that I shall lose little or nothing by that trade in the present year. The price of wheat keeps up; I sold on Saturday 10 quarters at 12s. 9d. per bushel.

"As to the Continental struggle, I contemplate it in all its parts with horror and dismay; the effusion of blood and of resources is beyond all calculation or bounds. Our countrymen are comforted and encouraged by lying reports and absurd misrepresentations."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1813, October 26. Eden Farm.—"We are to be again at Blenheim, on the 8th to the 12th, partly to mark a due sense of a friendly circumstance. Mary and Emily will be with us, and we offer ourselves to Lady Grenville and to you to be at Dropmore on Saturday the 13th till Tuesday the 16th, presuming that you are resettled."

Private.—"George will probably have been elected to a seat in Parliament in that week, and is likely to accompany us; but only for one night, as he is obliged to be in town on the 14th.

"Napoleon and his armies and garrisons and whole military fabric of predominancy seem to be hard pressed, and in extreme tribulation and peril."

EARL GREY to THE SAME.

1813, October 27. Howick.—"I have received your letter; and must in the first place thank you for the kind anxiety you felt upon our late alarm from the scarlet fever. I at one time thought it would have gone through my family, but by their separation, and every kind of precaution, its progress was happily stopped, and we are now all well with the exception of one of the younger boys, who had the disorder severely, and who does not recover his strength as he ought to do.

"With respect to the immediate subject of your letter, I must say that I agree with Holland as to the expediency of holding a pacific language, and have already expressed that opinion to him, in answer to a letter which I received from him, about the same time, I conclude, that his communication took place with you. This opinion I entertain because, as you say you do, I fear more than I hope from a continuance of the present contest. Under this impression, though I feel and acknowledge that a peace with Buonaparte on the best terms that we could hope for at this moment would leave France in possession of a power most formidable to the independence of Europe, yet comparing that with the situation in which we should be placed if he were to succeed in breaking the present Confederacy (the last certainly, if unsuccessful,

that Europe will see) I cannot hesitate as to the policy of securing ourselves, if it can be done, by any reasonable terms, against so fatal a hazard. If I were in Government therefore I should propose, not separately, but conjointly with our allies, a fair offer of peace, on terms certainly far below what our security requires, infinitely below what our sanguine politicians would demand, but such as, leaving Russia, Austria, and Prussia entire powers, would together with this example of successful resistance, and the chances of Buonaparte's life, place us in a situation of ease and safety compared with the best hope we could have formed a year ago, or with the consequences which must necessarily result from the failure of this coalition. Into the grounds of my apprehension of this failure it is not necessary to enter, because you express the same fear; I will only say that I believe the seeds of division amongst the Allies exist even now to a degree that their common danger ought to have prevented; that the Confederacy was very near its ruin at Dresden; that any reverse will probably dissolve it; that a protracted war without decisive success will have the same effect; and that there is not in France itself, on account of the pressure of the war, a stronger desire of peace than there exists in the population, and in the armies, and even in the Cabinets of the Allied Powers. If this be true, and I could show you authorities for the opinion which I think you would not doubt, there seems to me the strongest reasons for believing that when winter shall have stopped all military operations, if the successes of the contending powers should preserve any balance, negotiations will ensue, and the only question will be, whether we shall take the lead in them, or whether we shall suffer this opportunity to be lost, with all the consequences before us of our being again left alone in the contest.

"This, I say, if I were in Government, would determine me to connect the interests of this country with the Alliance, in peace as well as in war; and, therefore, to propose an attempt at peace on very moderate terms, which, I am convinced, they will make either jointly or separately, except in the event of some great and overbearing success, without us. In making such an attempt I cannot think there would be any danger of forfeiting the confidence of the Allies. In the first place we cannot forfeit what we do not possess; but in the next, surely it might be possible to bring forward the proposition in a way to secure ourselves against any imputation or suspicion of a desire to abandon the common cause. On the contrary I think it might be so managed as to afford the best proof of our sincerity and determination to support the contest with all our means if its continuance should be unavoidable; and I believe that the Continental powers are much more likely to suspect us of a desire to keep them embroiled for our own

purposes, than of a design to withdraw ourselves from a war which their safety may make it necessary for them to continue.

“But there is a difference between what we might do as Ministers and the language to be held in public by an Opposition. This again will depend a good deal on the circumstances and the manner and the tone in which that language is held. I can conceive the possibility of counselling peace in such a manner as to prove not only that you had no desire to raise a clamour against Ministers on that ground, but that your wishes are not less sincere, or that your exertions would not be less vigorous than theirs in support of the common cause of nations against the tyranny of France. To say that you would not be in danger of misrepresentation from the Ministerial writers would be too much, but I am sure it would not be the interest of their employers, rightly understood, to misrepresent you; nor can I believe that on the Continent such advice coming from persons whose authority could have any weight, accompanied by such declarations and such measures as might accompany it, could have the effect of creating any distrust in the Governments at war with France, or of discouraging their exertions.

“But peace is unattainable! It may be so, and I certainly am not sanguine in my expectations that Buonaparte would subscribe, in a moment of calamity, to such terms as even I, with my moderate views, would consent to propose to him. I think it not improbable that he may still feel, what he expressed in 1806, that a retrograde step would be his ruin. In this opinion perhaps he is right, and I am by no means sure that the most effectual blow that could be given to his power would not be by a peace, however inadequate the terms might be to our apparent security, which would be made by him with a diminished reputation, and with the acknowledgment of failure in a contest so wantonly provoked by him. But this surely is rather a reason why we should make such a peace if we can; and I am still so incorrigible in my old opinions as to believe that even to propose a peace, which all the world and particularly his own people think he ought to accept, would be attended with great advantages. I would make the peace therefore if I could; I would propose it even though I were sure that it would not be accepted. But of this in the present case I am by no means sure; and when there is so strong a prevalence of public opinion as is manifested, if we can believe the reports in circulation, by the advice of Berthier and others, I think it by no means improbable that Buonaparte might feel himself compelled to give way in opposition to the dictates both of his individual interests and his passions.

“The balance, then, as it seems to me, may be thus struck. Is the reasonable hope arising from a perseverance in the

contest so great as to preponderate over the disadvantages of making peace upon such terms as we might now propose with a fair expectation that they would be, or rather that they ought to be, accepted? If you are prepared to answer in the affirmative there is an end of my reasoning. But if the fear of loss is greater than the hope of success, and the consequence of a failure in the war would be to make our situation not precarious or doubtful but absolutely desperate, it seems to me that the policy that I have recommended ought to prevail. There is only one other view of the question, but this I think you will not take. It is that of our case being already desperate, and that no failure in the war could be more injurious to us than such a peace as I have supposed. Could it indeed be made out that war left us nothing to fear, and peace nothing to hope, that we might win and could not lose, then indeed the question would be closed and we must at once rear the standard of Windham's *Bellum Internecinum*. But this, I say, is a view I am persuaded you will not take of this subject.

"Much as I have written, I feel that I have very imperfectly treated this question. I have omitted much, and perhaps some of the strongest grounds of my reasoning. I have said nothing of the causes of the distrust which I cannot help feeling of the Alliance; or of the misrepresentations by which we are misled here as to the actual successes of the war; or of their means of continuing the contest, supposing their disposition to be sound; or of our ability to support them. The question comes before us in a very different way from what it would have done if our resources had been entire. But I cannot agree with you in thinking that the money spent in Spain has been ineffectual in producing the better hope which now exists; or that Buonaparte's power, which even in his present circumstances makes you fear more than you hope, would not be much more formidable to the Allies if he had to oppose to them not only the armies which he is at present obliged to maintain on the frontiers of Spain, but all the military resources which the subjugation of the Peninsula must have placed at his command. I still think that our opinions at the beginning and in the progress of the Spanish contest were well warranted by such data as we then had to reason upon; and in saying this I shall perhaps be thought sufficiently pertinacious. But I cannot say that as things have turned out, contrary certainly to my expectations, the event of the Spanish war has not been both honourable and advantageous to this country. I am really most anxious that you should consider well what you say upon this subject, as I fear it may give Liverpool and Company an advantage over you. Why refer much to former opinions? We are all agreed as to the policy of reducing the power of France, and the change for the better that has taken place in the prospects

of the world. Let the Ministers, if they choose it, have the odium of reviving former differences, and taunting their opponents with their former opinions ; which in that case we must defend.

“ You thus have at a terrible length the best opinion I can form upon this subject. If yours shall continue to differ from it, I shall find additional reason for being satisfied with the determination I had already formed not to move from hence before Christmas. You will perceive at least that the sort of language which I should recommend and feel myself bound to hold in favour of peace, would essentially differ from the manner in which that point has always been proposed, and probably will now be proposed by Whitbread. When I say I should feel myself bound to hold this language, I mean not only by my present opinions, which are strong and not hastily formed, but by those which in the very last debate at which I was present in the House of Lords I professed on this subject. On that occasion I recommended an attempt at peace on the ground which I have now stated, and which I do not think materially affected by anything that has since happened.

“ All this may however be rendered useless by the events which probably have already taken place in Saxony. There seems to have been at the date of the last accounts every reason to expect a terrible conflict between the contending powers. If the Allies are unsuccessful you will, I think, very speedily see either a general Continental peace, without much reference to our interests, or a considerable defection from the Confederacy. Complete ruin on the other hand may be the result of a defeat to Buonaparte ! but in whatever degree his future means of maintaining the contest may be affected by it, it will be quite in vain to say anything that may have a tendency to check the confident expectations of the public.

“ You say nothing about subsidies. I should be much against them ; but for reasons quite independent of all I have been saying, but for which I have not now time.”

EARL GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1813, November 12. Howick.—“ I received your letter a few days ago, which I should have answered sooner, but for the reluctance I have felt to repeat opinions in any degree at variance with yours. It is indeed almost impossible to discuss by letter, and at the distance of 300 miles, the questions of negotiation and peace, in all the views that belong to them, and amidst the rapid changes which events are daily producing in the considerations by which such questions must be influenced. Between the writing of my last letter and its arrival, we received accounts of the accession of Bavaria to the Confederacy, and of the victory of Leipsic : both of them

events which, I confess, I had not allowed myself to hope. With changes of such importance new views of policy and conduct must necessarily arise, for I am not a subscriber to the strange position of Whitbread that after a signal and decisive success, we are to limit our demands to the same terms that we might have accepted when we had to calculate and to fear the chances of defeat. But moderation in success is still my motto. To that general policy you will not object. But it is, as you say, a relative term, and in considering the degree in which it should influence our conduct under the present circumstances, there may perhaps be still some difference between us.

“In our objects there can be no difference. You will, I am sure, give me full credit for a sincere desire that the balance of Europe should be established; nay for a disposition to make great sacrifices for that purpose. But there may be circumstances in which it would be expedient to negotiate on terms short of that full security. It will be so whenever the probabilities and the danger of failure preponderate over all reasonable hopes of success. It is possible that the victory, of the extent and consequences of which we are hardly yet qualified to judge, may have opened prospects favourable to all our wishes. It is possible on the other hand that the causes of my apprehension may not be removed. I may be too timid: but what I dread is another fatal reaction from France, or that in a protracted contest—and who can hope for the accomplishment of all our objects by a short effort?—the present Confederacy may be dissolved. Against such dangers, if reasonably to be feared, it would surely be wise and politic to guard by a negotiation, if they cannot be otherwise obviated; by a negotiation to be proposed or accepted by us, according to the circumstances of the moment.

“Both in your letter and in your speech you seem to me to exclude this consideration too much from your view. Upon the whole however I do not feel dissatisfied with the debate on the Address, for which, moderate as it is, and I think wisely moderate, I could have felt no difficulty in voting. Lord Liverpool indeed expressed nearly in my words the sentiment which I pressed, in the last debate at which I was present, on the subject of negotiation: that we should insist on no terms which, placing ourselves in the situation of a Frenchman, we should feel that it would be dishonourable to accept. More than this generally I cannot require. In the explanation when we come to particulars we may perhaps differ; but before that time, when I hope it is not impossible that we may agree, I will not anticipate a discussion, which, if it comes then, will come much too soon.

“There is, I will confess, one part of your speech which I wish you had omitted; I allude to what you said about

Holland ; not because I do not feel all the interest that belongs to the situation of that country, but because I do doubt very much the possibility of our re-establishing its independence. The great advantage of the present Confederacy, in my mind, is that it has been produced rather by the feeling of the people, than by the policy of the Governments which it has embraced. As the Allies advance towards France the war will assume, on their part, more of an offensive character. The views of a remoter policy, however just, are not so effective, particularly on the feelings of the people, as the pressure of immediate danger ; and I much fear when you come to carry on the war beyond the limits of Germany, you will find all the causes, moral, political and military, which have contributed to your present success, in a great measure reversed. My doubts therefore of the policy of such an attempt are strong ; they may be removed ; but till they are, I must be careful of pledging myself to such an enterprise, and still more of saying and doing anything to excite the efforts of a people, which, if we cannot ultimately support them, will only prove destructive to themselves.

“ But I am getting more into discussion than I intended, and more than, in our present circumstances, as I have stated at the beginning of my letter, can be useful. After all, it is impossible to fix beforehand the considerations which must determine our conduct. These will depend upon the circumstances of the time. *Alors comme alors*. Your hopes may be greater and mine less as to the probability of reducing the power of France by a continuance of the war, but by our opinions of that probability our views of policy must be regulated, either in pressing negotiation or framing terms of peace. I cannot admit, as I think I said in my former letter, that we have nothing more to apprehend from failure ; and it is not the part of practical wisdom, and therefore will not be recommended by you, in pursuing any object however just or necessary, to shut our eyes to the consequences of failure as compared with the more limited advantage which it may be in our power to secure. There are other considerations with respect to the question of proposing a negotiation into which I will not now enter. It may be true that Buonaparte will not make peace on such terms as I should think necessary. But his situation is new ; his dependence on public opinion greater (which even in France has its effect), and I am by no means sure that he would not now consent to sacrifices, if sacrifices they are to be called, upon which it might be better to conclude a peace, than to expose ourselves to the risk of continuing the war. You quote the offer of Austria, which by the way I think you greatly overstate ; but perhaps you are not aware that Buonaparte agreed to nearly those terms (so near that I believe his proposal, if it had come in time,

would have been accepted) after the termination of the armistice had been declared. I cannot doubt however that Austria gained great advantages by that offer, which I think was politic and wise.

“There is only one thing more on which I wish to say one word before I conclude this long letter. I am sure you will not suspect me of captiousness or jealousy as to points on which we have formerly differed. But in the report of your speech you appear to have said a good deal in support of the original policy of the war against France. I know how inaccurate such reports are, and it is probable that, if I had heard what you said, I might not have felt any difficulty. There cannot now be, I think, a discussion more useless in itself, or to me more unpleasant, than who was in the right and who in the wrong in 1793. I am sure this must be equally your feeling, and that you must therefore be most unwilling to place me in the situation of being compelled either to vindicate my former opinions, or by my silence to seem to acknowledge that they were wrong. I will not say more on this subject, and I would not have said so much had I not felt the most certain confidence that you cannot misconceive my feelings and intentions; which are simply to guard against the possibility of reviving differences long since past; not bearing, I trust, in any material degree, on the present state of affairs; and remembered by me only as subjects of regret.

“With respect to subsidies, that is altogether a question of expediency. If the war is to be continued, and it shall be found that this is the best way of using the means of which we have to dispose against the common enemy, the question is settled. I said shortly that I was against subsidies because I do not believe that we can afford them to any useful amount, without injury to ourselves; greater beyond all proportion than any advantage which could be derived from them to the common cause. Whatever we can afford I think also may be more effectually employed both for ourselves and our allies in other ways; and I believe they would fight better on their own resources, and with less probability of mutual disappointment and complaint. I might add that if as principals in the war, and with such interests at stake, they are either afraid or unable to require of their own people the sacrifices which they expect us to make, I do not see much probability of ultimate success in the contest.”

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1813, November 18. Eden Farm.—“I send the enclosed (you will not take the trouble to return it) because I think it possible that the point in question may have escaped your recollection. I consider the charge made against Christ Church

as not deserving of much regard. The idle nephew would have been equally idle at Oriel.

"The posting from Dropmore to London is 'to the tune' of 30 miles; 18 to Hounslow, 12 to London; the distance from Dropmore to Salt Hill being taken at 6 miles, though, in truth, it is not more than $4\frac{1}{2}$. This imposition would at once be permanently checked by a message from you to the *Castle and Windmill*. We were little more than 30 minutes on the road from Dropmore to Salt Hill; at the rate of less than 9 miles an hour. We came in 3 hours and 20 minutes from Dropmore to Parliament Street.

"Upper Canada will be lost; and the mischief will end there. It is some consolation that we used every possible exertion to avert that infatuated and calamitous war.

"The following short conversation is circulated and probably without any foundation in truth. 'My dear daughter, I must reprimand you for calling the Queen the merry wife of Windsor; you forget that my mother is Queen of England.' 'My dear father, you forget that my mother is Princess of Wales.'"

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1813, November 22. Eden Farm.—"From regard to the memory and merits of the late Grand Pensionary, I must trouble you to read the enclosed letter. The words of the warrant are 'We hereby grant and allow to Joanna Van de Spiegel, widow, an annuity or pension of 500*l.* to continue during our pleasure; and further an annuity of 500*l.* to the following children of the said Joanna' (here their names are inserted, nine in number) '*to be equally divided amongst them or such of them as shall survive the said Joanna; to commence from the day of her decease, and to continue during our pleasure.*'

"I fear that those words must be construed to give a reversionary separated interest to each of the surviving children, and consequently that the several portions will cease on each eventual death. It would otherwise be a grant of an annuity of 500*l.* for ten concurrent lives and the survivor. If you can encourage a more favourable construction I will do what I can to give effect to it.

"Has Mr. Wilberforce sent you his speeches on the clause for promoting religious instruction in India? I have found them amusing and interesting."

10 o'clock a.m.—"I had written the above and this moment receive the news of the Dutch 'restoration.' It is to my feeling the best and most important event of this most eventful year, and removes the only material stumbling block that seemed to stand in the way of what is called the recovery of Europe."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1813, November. Cleveland Square.]—"The evening papers will tell you that the guns which fired in the morning for Lord Wellington's action fired again just now on the news of Dresden having surrendered with Marshal St. Cyr and 16,000 men; and also that the French have been defeated at Hockheim, and have been driven out of Cassel, which is, you know, the strong outwork of Mayence; and further that the Crown Prince is in Holland; if so there need not be the great pressure for English troops there. Proby is gone with his Guards; but my chief object in writing this is to tell you that, after a long conversation with Temple, I confirmed him in his resolution to volunteer in person with his militia, and though we were both sorry not to have your previous advice, I thought time so valuable in a business of this sort that I encouraged him to write to Lords Liverpool and Sidmouth without waiting the two days that would be lost in hearing from you; and he accordingly wrote them last night, they having already given him the assurance that he is to command his own provisional battalion, though with the rank only of lieutenant-colonel. I am confident that you will agree with me in thinking this a fit and becoming step for him, more especially as the regiment would otherwise have gone with Young, though without their colonel. It is a proud circumstance for our family that you, though in opposition, have made the most impressive speech in support of the war; and that the only colonels of militia who have yet volunteered are your two nephews, Watkin and Temple."

LORD GRENVILLE to EARL GREY.

1813, November 24. Dropmore.—"The same reluctance which you express to discuss by letter and at such a distance anything like a difference of opinion between us on points on which it is more than probable that a few minutes' conversation might show us to be nearly agreed, has retarded, more than it should have done, my answer to your last letter. Moderation in success is as much and as highly to be valued as firmness under adversity. Both are the true rules of conduct for a wise Government when carried to their just limit; and when pushed to excess, the one is weakness, the other obstinacy. These are general principles about which we cannot differ. Should we differ in their application to the present circumstances of the country, if the decision rested with us, and if we possessed the knowledge of details necessary for it? I confidently believe we should not, but if we should, that would be with me the strongest possible motive, in addition to so many others, for rejoicing that it is so highly improbable that I should ever be called upon to bear any share in taking such a decision."

“ I am therefore truly concerned that you doubt the expediency of what I said about Holland. But in the situation in which I stood towards that people, not even your opinion could have satisfied me that I discharged my duty without recalling to the recollection of Parliament and this country that which has lately been a good deal out of remembrance; I mean the claims which the Dutch have, not on our favour, but on our justice. The happy event which has now arisen there, has relieved me from the necessity of arguing that point farther. But I do not at all differ from you when you rest the question on the *possibility* of our re-establishing their independence. There I think it ought to rest. When there was no probability that any efforts or any sacrifices of ours *could* accomplish that object, the thing was remediless; but it would be difficult indeed in my mind to fix limits to the extent of the efforts we are bound to make in war, or the sacrifices we are bound to make in negotiation, to accomplish that object provided it can be accomplished.

“ I also most entirely agree with you that all measures of war and peace must be taken on a combined view (first of justice and then) of the comparative probabilities of loss by possible failure, and gain by possible success. The principle that we cannot be worse and therefore should go on I apply only to one particular branch of the question to which I believe it strictly applies. If this Confederacy had failed in the present campaign I have no doubt it would have been dissolved by the failure; and so dissolved, I am convinced it never could have been reunited, at least within any period for which political foresight can provide. Therefore it is that I argued the necessity of our supporting this effort to the utmost; it being the last, and as far as the interests of the Continent go, the only effort we could look to. In whatever shape it failed, the consequence would be the same. The Continent would remain at the mercy of Buonaparte, and the possible death of a man still in the vigour of his age would have been the only chance on which to speculate for its deliverance. In this sense it is that I felt Europe could not be worse by any failure during the campaign, than by the present dissolution and submission of the league now united against France.

“ This consideration would have made me, and did make me, very cautious in measures to excite such a league: but when formed, and formed as I believe almost without our knowledge, I could not doubt that we must support it to the utmost.

“ With respect to former opinions about the origin of the war I can only say that I wish you had heard what I did say on the first day. But I ought on every account to be explicit on that subject. When it was first considered between Fox

and myself whether the public circumstances of the country, and the state of our opinions as to future measures, would admit of our co-operation, the most distinct reserve was expressed on both sides as to former opinions to which we still adhered respecting past transactions. And if any necessity for such discussions should have arisen (as might easily have happened when we were nearer to those times) I should have felt as little hurt myself, by his expressing his adherence to his opinions, as I should have thought he could be if I declared, as I ever must, when called upon to speak at all upon the subject, that my original opinions in favour of the necessity and wisdom of the measures of 1792 and 3 have been confirmed by every succeeding event.

“But while I acted with him, the esteem and respect with which his character inspired me, and since his death the cordial friendship which I hope I may say has been established between yourself and me, has ever made me desirous of avoiding to the utmost of my power every subject or topic on which it was probable we might differ. On the particular point of the origin of the war my own personal character and conduct are in a most especial manner involved: and you would think worse of me than I hope you do, if I had ever acceded to any compromise which did not leave me at full liberty to judge for myself how far I was called upon by any incident that might arise in debate or otherwise to vindicate my own measures.

“But having said this, more perhaps than the occasion required, yet due I think in frankness to you, let me assure you that I am not aware of its being in the smallest degree applicable to what passed on the first day. I do not speak set speeches, and might not perhaps even the very next day be able to remember my exact words. Much less can I do so three weeks afterwards. But certainly what I had in my mind, and meant to apply that part of my speech to, had no reference to the differences between English parties in 1793, but to the doctrines which Buonaparte has laboured to diffuse in Europe, that when we have called upon the nations of Europe to resist his ambition, we were pleading for our own interests in opposition to theirs. And I expressed, I believe, my joy that the Continental nations now appeared to feel that we had in fact been arguing and fighting for their interests, quite as much as for our own.

“This was certainly what I had in my mind. I ought not to disguise from you that if called upon to speak of the transactions of 1793 I must speak of them as I think; but surely I need not say that to seek out wantonly any causes or occasions for public differences of opinion and language between my friends and myself is among those things from which my feelings are most adverse [averse].

"Now as to subsidies, I have abstained from all attendance, and from every expression of opinion, as to the measures adopted on that subject. I have done so partly from my general disposition to attend in Parliament as little as I can in any way believe consistent with my duty. But also in a great degree from a disinclination to appear forward in objecting to the details of measures when I approve the general course pursued.

"I should have been favourable to the general proposal of furnishing pecuniary relief to our allies, because knowing the profuse waste of our own military expenditure I cannot doubt that the same sum which puts in motion one British soldier against Buonaparte, would oppose to him three or four (might not I say many more ?) Swedes, Prussians, or Russians. Nor should I, in the precise circumstances which now exist, have urged the objections which naturally arise from the exhausted state of our own finances, the enormous increase of our debt, and the burden of our taxes ; because I do think the present is in reality one of those moments, such as Governments are apt always to allege, but such as now I think truly exists, when the best economy will ultimately be found in a vigorous and unhesitating application of every resource we can command.

"My difficulties arise solely from the state of our circulation, and from the bearing of these stipulations on the issues of our own paper money and that of the Continent. I entertain on that point the most dreadful apprehensions, such as I tremble even to look at. But I know experimentally that this is a subject to which nothing but great calamity will attract the public attention. The utmost ignorance prevails upon it, and most of all with that class (our bankers and merchants) who ought to understand it best, and are naturally supposed to do so. They have all involved their own credit with this paper system—and they defend it, not merely as matter of opinion, but as fighting for their own existence ; and while they do so, a few individuals who have studied the principles of that science have no chance of being heard against the general clamour.

"I say of this therefore as I said above about Holland. I am silent only from the conviction of the *impossibility* of doing any good. Did I think (against repeated experience) that there was any reasonable prospect of success, I should be stimulated to some exertion on that point, averse as I am to parliamentary attendance. But I know there is not ; and if there were, I had rather attack the system in gross, than this particular branch of it, important as it is." *Copy.*

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1813, November 26. Cleveland Square. --"I was sure you would think and feel upon this subject of Lord B[uckingham]'s offer exactly as I do ; and it is very gratifying to me to find

how favourable an impression of our dear nephew is universally given by this very praiseworthy and meritorious conduct. He has just seen the Duke of York, who has overflowed, according to the manner of his conversation, in gracious expressions of praise, and in promises of effecting Lord Buckingham's wishes by sending him to Holland under Graham. But as his regiment must be relieved from duty in Rosecommon, this will take some time. Young will probably go with him as lieutenant-colonel, and he has served abroad, and has a good deal of intelligence and activity.

"I hear of no other volunteer colonel after our own two, except Lord Dartmouth with his Staffordshire.

"I have just writ to Charles to tell him that Abbot's peerage is fixed and will very soon take place, though I think he cannot have it, nor can they give it, before Morpeth's motion.

"I know it by Temple, who tells me *in confidence* that Manners Sutton's brother has long been engaged to Miss Oliver, whenever he could find bread and cheese enough, and that the A[reh] B[ishop] has now consented, having promised young Sutton a sinecure of 600*l. per annum* now held by Manners Sutton, as Manners Sutton is to be Speaker immediately, and therefore can give up this sinecure to his younger brother. This must not be talked of, as it is told Temple in confidence, but I have apprized Charles that he may depend upon the fact that Sutton will very soon be Speaker.

"Fagel dines with me to-morrow: I have not seen him since he is once again a Dutelman."

EARL GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1813, November 28. Howick.—"I received your letter of the 24th last night, and cannot delay expressing the pleasure it has given me. You cannot do me more than justice as to the sincere and cordial friendship by which our political union has been followed. Any interruption of it would be to me one of the greatest misfortunes of my life. It was this feeling which prompted me to state to you without reserve the impressions made on me by your former letter, and by the report of your speech. There is nothing more fatal to a good understanding than reserve and concealment, whilst by frankness and candour, differences, if they cannot be entirely obviated, will at least be limited to the points on which they arise, and exempted from all cause of mutual complaint.

"There is now no immediate call for further discussion. My fear was that the Alliance might be dissolved either by a reverse or by the difficulties of a protracted contest. That danger seems much diminished: but I would have avoided it, as I would still avoid it if it appeared to threaten, by negotiation and peace; by a peace, as I think I before said, on terms which, though insufficient for the re-establishment

of a real balance in Europe, might have the advantage of securing a bond of interest and union between the confederated powers. It seemed to me, and I still think, that their union in peace is even more desirable than any particular arrangement of territory that could be named. Till the campaign is concluded probably no question of negotiation can arise, nor do I know that it would be wise to bring it forward on our part at the present moment; so great, in my view, is the change which has taken place since my first letter to you on this subject. But this principle of union will have the greatest weight with me whenever that consideration comes more immediately before us; and as I shall be disposed to exact a severe responsibility from Ministers for suffering the Confederacy to break to pieces, so I shall be strongly disposed to approve of any negotiation and any peace in which the Allies may think it for their mutual interests to concur.

“As to Holland you know I was only apprehensive of committing ourselves, and still more perhaps of encouraging that people to an attempt for which circumstances might not yet be sufficiently favourable. That question has been decided. The die is cast, and I have no hesitation, in the present state of things, to say with you that it would be difficult indeed to fix any limit to the extent of the exertions we are bound to make in war, or to the sacrifices we are bound to make in negotiation, to secure the independence of a country which has so many claims upon us.

“I am anxious still to say one word upon former opinions. I hope you could not suspect that I would propose or consent to any compromise on that head which might place either of us under a restraint inconsistent with our honour. In the report of your speech you seemed to me to have rested your support of the present measures on the original policy of the war. I could not have supported them on that ground, and must have explained the difference of my views. For the expression of such a difference I did not see any necessity at the present moment, though I have ever felt, and shall ever feel, that we both must be at perfect liberty to vindicate our former opinions if the occasion demanded it. With this feeling, however, I have always had not only the most earnest desire to avoid the introduction of any such topic unnecessarily, but the strictest guard upon myself to prevent even an inadvertent allusion to subjects which in every account, both private and public, I am anxious to keep out of view. I confidently relied on your being influenced by the same feeling, and the manner in which you express it has given me the greatest satisfaction. It is only necessary for me to add before I take leave of this subject that according to your statement of the line you took, if I had been present I could have felt no difficulty; and I believe I anticipated this in my former letter.

"I expect Lauderdale here to-day, who has lately been much indisposed by a severe cold. He has a book coming out on our circulation, which I fear will not meet with much attention at present. What you say is too true; that subject will never be listened to till it is forced upon us by calamity, and then it will be too late."

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1813, December 9. Chigwell.—"The enclosed is Mr. Halsett's bill of thanks for your obliging though ineffectual application to Oriel College.

"The detail which he gives of his seeing Sarah Duchess of Marlborough is in proof of (what is very unusual) his having seen seven generations in the direct line of descent.

1. Sarah Duchess of Marlborough.
2. Lady Sunderland.
3. John Spencer.
4. The first Lord Spencer.
5. Duchess of Devonshire.
6. Lady Morpeth.
7. Her children.

"In 1787 I was present at Versailles when one of the children of Louis XVI received the *Ordre du St. Esprit*, and the Maréchal de Richelieu said he had seen seven generations in the direct line with that order. I cannot recollect that I have yet seen more than five generations in any family.

"We are at this place (Sir David Wedderburn's) only till to-morrow, and it is the last act of vagrancy that I mean to commit before the 20th April, when I shall be put in requisition by my daughters for a six weeks' residence in London, much to my annoyance in all respects.

"I find here an intelligent young man, Mr. Kinnaird, who, for his amusement, attended the allied armies through the campaign. His accounts are interesting and convince me that if Buonaparte had not been infatuated by a bad temper and perversity of mind, he might, after the repulse of the Allies at Dresden, have accomplished the withdrawing of his armies of 300,000 men to the borders of the Rhine with all the attitude and character and advantages of victory.

"There is a small volume just published, entitled *A Tour through Hamburgh, Gorlitz, Breslau, etc.* by Robert Semple, an English merchant, unfortunately for him mistaken by Lord Cathcart for Semple the swindler, and very ill treated. It is an amusing account."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1813, December 13. Eden Farm.—"I learn from Mr. Horner, who is passing a day or two at this place, that you are expected

in town on Wednesday ; probably with the intention to say something in the House on the actual state of affairs. In effect and in fact the country will have paid a large price for the proposed long adjournment, if that object contributed to hurry the loan of twenty-two millions, on which the contractors have had a gain of nearly two millions sterling. At the same time, on the part of the Ministers I am not surprised that they wish to have the pacification in their own hands uncontrolled by parliamentary speculations and speeches. But it is become at least doubtful whether the recovery of Europe will be so soon accomplished. There are various symptoms towards both the Pyrenees and the Rhine which indicate hesitations and delay ; and we all know that Buonaparte may be able to avail himself of time if he can gain time. In the interim discordance may take place among the Allies.

“ I believe that the assumption of the sovereignty of the United Provinces originated from this country ; the Prince of Orange having been instructed to answer to the deputies that he could not accept the Stadholderat subject to the various vicious imperfections in the old constitution ; but I dislike all these revolutionary novelties ; the Netherlandish sovereignty ; the seizure of Norway proposed by regular treaties ; the confirmation by the Allied Powers of the additions given by Buonaparte to Bavaria. It would have been wiser with a view to the re-establishment of permanent tranquillity to have adhered to the simple line of old boundaries and old names. I am sorry to hear that Lord Grey has a severe attack of his complaint.”

EARL GREY to THE SAME.

1813, December 19. Howick.—“ I last night received your very kind letter. I reckon this attack quite over, and I feel no remains of it except a more than usual languor and depression of spirits. But I have no doubt I shall soon get the better of this also.

“ I entirely concur in all the sentiments you express about the assumption of the sovereignty by the Prince of Orange ; Castlereagh, I sec, denied that this Government had anything to do with it. But this in my opinion is not enough ; they must have known what was in contemplation, and they should have used their influence with the Prince of Orange to desist from such a measure ; an influence which would not have been ineffectual considering his dependence on our support ; but particularly if this step was really taken against his inclination. I suspect that when all that is now going on comes before the public, this will not be found to be the only instance in which our interests have suffered from the management of those to whose hands they are committed.

“ You know, of course, that negotiations are going on at Frankfort. They originated in the conversation of Buonaparte with Meerveldt, who, you may remember, was taken prisoner by the French in the first day’s battle, and afterwards released by Buonaparte. In this conversation he professed fairly. He offered to give up all the fortresses on the Vistula, Oder, and Danube, except Magdeburgh, and to go behind the Saal, as the conditions of an armistice ; and to negotiate on the basis of giving up Hamburgh, Lubeck, and Hanover, if we would give up colonies ; and to establish the independence of Holland and Italy if we would acknowledge the rights of the neutral flag. On Spain being mentioned, he said, it is an affair of dynasty, *je n’y suis plus*. This puts me a little in mind of the conversation with Yarmouth ; and that recollection augurs ill for its sincerity ; and the Allies certainly did right in not suspending the advantages which they then had in their power. They have, however, upon the ground of this conversation since sent a direct proposition to Paris through Monsieur de Saint Aignan, who was the French Minister at Weimar, and whom, having been taken by the Cossacks, they sent back. What the propositions were I don’t know, but an answer had been received at Frankfort on 28 of November from the Duke of Bassano, stating that Buonaparte saw with pleasure the disposition expressed by the Allies, and that England had adhered to the principle of a congress ; that he recognised as the basis of negotiation the independence of Continental and *maritime* nations, and proposed Manheim as the place of assembly, which should be declared neutral ; and that he would agree to the passage of couriers by Calais. This was not considered by Metternich as sufficiently explicit, and the messenger was sent back with an answer referring to the propositions sent through St. Aignan, and requiring a specific acknowledgment of them as the basis of negotiation. Possibly you may have received this information before, but lest you should not, I thought it as well to send it ; but I will thank you not to mention it, as I have communicated it to no other person. The Duke of Gloucester, however, knows it through the same channel that I do.

“ With such interests depending it is lamentable to think on the men who are at the headquarters of the Allies. I have no great opinion of Aberdeen. He however appears to be held in esteem by the Austrian Government ; but Charles Stewart and Cathcart bear a different character ; they are full of jealousies of one another ; the different language they hold produces the worst effect and is destructive of all confidence ; and they mislead our Government by the falsest accounts.

“ The battle of Leipsick you may be assured was most severely contested, and the French loss, as compared with that of the Allies, has been much exaggerated. They were very

little pressed in their retreat, completely defeated the Bavarians and Austrians at Hanau, with a small comparative loss ; and crossed the Rhine with 80,000 *effective*, independent of Kellerman's corps, and the stragglers which might be expected to rejoin them. This information I have from Sir R[obert] Wilson, whose details of all the military operations are very clear and very interesting. He thinks as everybody else does of the Princee Royal, whose character at last appears to be esteemed as it deserves. The Norway treaty is now likely to become one of the greatest obstaeles to peace, and is loudly condemned by the Austrian Government. It is not improbable that this may become the first cause of division amongst the Allies.

"I am glad you have put off saying anything at present. It is surely much better that we should wait for the whole ease which must be produed in March, when, I think, we shall find a great advantage in not having committed ourselves by any previous opinions. The Ministers are aeting under a most severe responsibility. Fortune may continue to favour them, and to cover all their errors ; but I think it by no means improbable that they will have an account to give which must call for the strongest censure.

"The accounts I have of the Princee persuade me that he is mad. You probably know that he is talking of going to Hanover and making arrangements about his . . . , just as his father did."

EARL GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1813, December 31. Howiek.—"Since I wrote to you I have learnt the propositions made by the Allies to Buonaparte. The Alps, the Rhine and the Pyrenees for the boundaries of France ; Germany, Switzerland, Italy and Holland to be independent ; the particular arrangement for those countries being left for negotiation ; Spain to be restored to Ferdinand. This basis Buonaparte has accepted in the most distinct and unequivocal manner, requiring however that the sacrifices which France is prepared to make should be met by sacrifices from England, for the establishment of the maritime as well as the continental independence of the states of Europe.

"The French answer is stated to have been most clearly and ably drawn, and to have made a great impression on the Allies, who immediately dispatched a messenger to Paris accepting the negotiation. *The whole transaction was kept a secret from our Ministers at headquarters ;* and Pozzo di Borgo sent off the same night to England. So much for the ingenuousness of Liverpool and the truth of Castlereagh in the answers which they gave to the questions that were put to them on the subject of the declaration.

"I do not believe this concealment marks so much ill-will

to England as distrust of the persons by whom our interests are represented, who agree in nothing, are jealous to the greatest degree of each other, and give the most contradictory representations of the views of this Government. It is in consequence of this, I believe, that Castlereagh is gone. Will he mend matters ?

“I have not ventured to communicate this information to anybody, not even to Holland or Lauderdale ; though you may think this unnecessary precaution, when I tell you again that it is known by the Duke of Gloucester. I will thank you therefore not to mention it till you hear it from other quarters.

“I am better, but still very languid and weak, notwithstanding this very fine weather.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1814, January 24. Cleveland Square.—“I could perhaps have written to you with more satisfaction to myself upon the subject of the Oxford address if the time had permitted me to do more than to cast my eye once hastily over it ; it was impossible for me to do more, as it only reached me on Saturday, in the moment in which the post was leaving London, and I was afraid it might be a real inconvenience to you if I retained it till the post of this day. It appeared to me, in my cursory view of it, to be written, as you truly say, in the worst manner of the worst paragraphs in the *Courier*, and what is more material, there did appear to be one paragraph which might seem to attribute the present prosperous state of affairs on the Continent to the Regent having kept his present Ministers, an opinion drawn from the same rich fund of political instruction in the pages of the *Courier*, and probably brought forward by the new bishop among the first fruits of his acknowledgments to Carleton House ; whether the words of the paragraph that I allude to are such as you may think unbecoming you to read, would demand a much closer examination of them than I could make, as I could scarcely read them once through. But I cannot refrain from saying that this is a case above all others where I think I should put aside all question of verbal criticism for the larger view of public effect, and while this occasion affords a useful opportunity of encouraging the country to persevere by expressions of congratulation and confident hope, I would not suffer myself to be easily deterred from that object, because the unmerited praise of a political party has been added by the time-serving gowns and cassocks and mitres of Oxford. Nobody can suppose that any objectionable words of this description are read by you as your own sentiments, and your reading them from the university can be attributed to no other motive than that of a manly and high-minded disdain of the little party-

feelings and time-serving flattery which disgrace the language of the Oxford address. I certainly cannot undertake from memory to pronounce upon the paragraph in question, but it struck me that the present case is not unlike the various instances of addresses in Parliament, where for the sake of the public effect of unanimity, individuals and even political parties not unfrequently adopt the whole although it may contain words and expressions in some instances adverse to their known opinions ; and instead of seeing any inconvenience produced by this act of honourable self-denial, it always seems as if it furnished additional praise and credit to those who make such a sacrifice of personal feeling to public effect. If therefore your own better judgment and closer examination of the words does not pronounce absolutely against the possibility of your reading them, I am persuaded there would be no little advantage obtained by your personal attendance. My wish to see you do so, if you feel no insuperable objection to it, arises from my considering such a step as being connected in some measure with your speech at the opening of the session, where so much was gained by your marking your own individual opinions upon your own large view of public affairs, without suffering them to be influenced by any party-feelings either of your own or of those who act with you. A great inducement to your taking that step was found in the very low tone and adverse sentiments of some of the ranks of opposition, and in the language which they dictate to the *Morning Chronicle*. That objectionable tone and language becomes more and more so every day : J. [?] was yesterday loudly censuring the passage of the Rhine, because he said it was as easy to make peace on the right bank as on the left ; Lord H[olland] was reproaching the Allies with bad faith upon no other ground than because Buonaparte accused them of having refused to treat upon the basis they had themselves proposed ; a reproach to which I think there is an easy answer, because I certainly hold that in a negotiation going on *flagrante bello* either party is at liberty to vary their terms according to the daily events of the campaign, and it is only after an armistice or suspension of hostilities that any reproach could arise from a change of terms. I find other people as much disapproving as I do of a language so little calculated as this appears to be for encouraging the Allies to persevere in an endeavour to bring France within her ancient limits ; and Lord Stair was loud to me yesterday in his expressions of disapprobation of a tone so unbecoming the time and the circumstances. The Duke d'Angouleme is gone to Plymouth in order, as is said, to join Lord Wellington ; Duke de Berry is to go through Weymouth to Jersey, and Monsieur through Holland to Switzerland. Lord Liverpool and Lord Bathurst dined with Craufurd the day before yesterday and told him distinctly that they knew nothing of

the French Princes or their projects ; and the rumour is that the Regent has encouraged them to go, although the Cabinet disclaim the bringing the Bourbons forward : yet if Duke d'Angouleme goes to Lord Wellington's army the country becomes pledged by his appearance in their ranks, and though any of the French Princes may go in disguise, *pour tâter le terrain*, without committing the English Government, it is quite a different case to put one of them at the head of our English grenadiers under Bayonne ; either therefore this latter destination is not true, or if true, it is forced upon our Ministers, who have not the courage to follow their own opinions when in collision with that of their master. I have not myself heard of the slightest proof of any wish in any part of France for the restoration of the Bourbons, though old Vaudreuil assures me that all the provinces are well disposed to them except only Brittany ! but as long as I see no trace of any invitation to the Bourbons from France, I shall think it very unwise in us to bring them forward ; Lord Liverpool's language is that he cannot feel confident in any permanent peace with Bonaparte, but is not very solicitous about the choice of his successor. Lord Wellington is said to be calling loudly for reinforcements now that Suchet has left Catalonia ; I asked Lord Tweedale what force would join Lord Wellington from the Anglo-Sicilian army in Catalonia, and he says not more than 7,000, of which one half are English and the other half Germans.

"Blomfield says there will be immediate armistice and negotiation, and I am told that a letter from Lord Aberdeen to a private friend two days ago said 'peace is inevitable.' Temple and Watkin have each of them a letter of service to command a battalion : by a mistake of Lord Palmerston's office to Temple he was told he was to have with the Bucks the West York and Hereford to make up his 800 ; while it seems these two latter had been given to Watkin on which to found his 800. This bother makes a little unlucky irritation between Temple and Torrens of the Horse Guards, but they will find other men for Temple which will do as well ; how awkward our great Ministers are in their official arrangements."

Postscript.—"It is reported that the Prince Regent said the other day to the French King that he hoped he would order himself to be crowned at Paris instead of Rheims, as the Kings of Europe would be present at it, '*et moi je ne serais pas certainement le dernier*' !!!

"Lord Lansdown is still weather-bound at Ampthill ; I will see him when he comes ; if you have any opportunity to write to him, a line on that subject would do good from you."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1814, January 28. Cleveland Square.—"I am far from being disappointed at the determination that you have made

which I am satisfied by your letter is the right one ; more especially as I plainly see, by the arguments which you urge, that in the hurried glance which I was scarcely able to give to your address, I had not seen or remarked the very strong parts to which your letter refers : but with your description of that address I do not hesitate to say that I think your decision against your presenting it is right."

LORD GRENVILLE to THOMAS GRENVILLE.

1814, February 1. Dropmore.—"I enclose to you this morning's letters from Cole and Hodson and my answers. I much wish for your opinion and that of Lord Spencer if he is in town. My first impression was decidedly against presenting the paper, and perhaps this is one of the cases where the greatest weight is due to first impressions. On subsequent perusals I have thought that the expressions are more softened than at first appeared to me. I want, however, to know your impressions and his, and not to tell you mine. It is, however, material to point out to you the grounds of my present objections and doubts ; you would collect them from a collation of the three papers, but it is less troublesome to you that I should indicate them. First I dislike the general tone of fulsome adulation which still prevails, though less strikingly than before, throughout the paper. Perhaps, however, this is less misbecoming in a public body than it would be in an individual, and at all events a shade of flattery more or less in a composition in its nature adulatory seems hardly a ground to authorise a strong declaration and measure of dissent.

"In the first page, though they have omitted the expression of some sentiments which I thought it became them to express, they have inserted nothing in which I do not concur, which last is the only question now to be considered by me.

"At the top of the second page I had omitted that strong and almost blasphemous expression which seemed to put our gratitude to God in a sort of comparison and balance with that which we owed as they think to the Prince Regent. What they have now put in its place is nearly nonsense but if it has any distinct meaning it is that they do mean to observe the due distance and proportion (if the very word were not itself nonsense) between the goodness of the Creator and the merits of the Prince of Wales. How such a comparison ever came into their heads one may wonder, but when they say that they mean to express themselves of the one in due subservience only to the other I know not that more than what is due can in any case be required, though the phrase is still a most foolish one, and would be the first gulp of the swallow which I must make if I read this address. The second part of this sentence

attributes in *an eminent degree* the humiliation of the common foe to the firmness and perseverance of his Royal Highness (that is, constitutionally speaking, of his Ministers since he became Regent) treading in the steps, etc., etc., of the King.

“Compare this with the King’s speech and the addresses of Parliament, you will see that these speak of the same qualities but attribute them to the country, including therefore in that phrase (as I had done in my amended draft) the conduct of this country through the whole course of the contest, many moments of which did certainly require and exhibit much firmness both on the part of the Government and of the country.

“Perhaps in ascribing even to this long course of conduct in any great degree the present advantages, the speech and addresses go to the very utmost limits of truth, but to these I am pledged not only by a general concurrence, but by a very strong expressed approbation of the sentiments and language of the speech.

“In this paper the whole praise and the whole of the consequences are distinctly limited to the firmness, etc., of his Royal Highness and it is merely mentioned as an adjunct, and as it were by the way, that it is consonant to the example of the King.

“It is a misfortune that this distinction has the appearance of nicety and subtilty, though it is I fear very substantial and important.

“Can I adopt this phrase as my own without sacrificing the whole tenor of my own life and the whole praise due to all my colleagues, both living and dead, and transferring all their merits to the Prince Regent and his Ministers?

“On the other hand, is the distinction sufficiently obvious and apparent to force itself upon my own notice, and to support in public opinion (I mean that of my own friends, not of the *Courier* and *Morning Post*) my refusal to adopt this phrase?

“My next difficulty is on the words *treading in the steps*, etc. Do they not convey an obvious sense of approving the King’s conduct not merely in that particular in which I warmly approve it, that of his constancy in the support of the war, but of approving generally his principles and system of government, which I believe to have been most destructive to the public interests? and must they not be farther construed as approving the Prince’s breach of faith to my own friends, and his continuance of the King’s Ministers, and the King’s system of government?

“The next paragraph asserts still more strongly that to British councils and British valour we may chiefly trace that succession of events which has terminated in the energy and union of the Continent.

“What is that succession of events ?

“And in what respect is it true that it is chiefly to be traced to British councils and British valour ?

“Lastly, is it true or false that the national constancy of this country did not shrink from the contest at the time of the peace of Amiens ? and can I who declared then in my speeches both spoken and written that I considered that treaty as humiliating and degrading, ‘the parent only of more perilous conflict,’ now say that we never shrunk even in thought from the contest ?

“The phrase about the institutions of their forefathers seemed to me at first to exclude all improvement of any subsisting and ancient government but it refers I believe in fair construction only to such alienation from those as is to be effected by vain theories and deceitful promises. It is to be sure, as it now stands, oddly chosen as an introduction to the compliments of the House of Orange.

“The exultation about planting British standards on French ground, within sight of the frontiers, where I wish we may be able to continue them, I thought puerile, but it is not worth a contest. The King’s speech expressed this with great propriety.

“Their dilated and inflated praise of the Prince Regent’s bounty in giving to three of their professors each less than he gives to his valet de chambre is also not worth dwelling upon.

“To the phrase which they have restored of wishing for such a peace as may accord *with the magnanimous views of his Royal Highness* I object only that I do not know what those magnanimous views are ; if it be meant to go to war, or to prolong war, for the Bourbons, which is said to be his magnanimous wish, I utterly protest against it. If we are to take it only as an approval of the views disclosed in the speech to Parliament I entirely approve of those and would go as far as any man to support them.

“On the whole what shall I do ? I own myself much puzzled.

“Cole’s letter and Hodson’s will shew you, what indeed you saw in the conversation of the latter here, that they are fairly cowed, and that neither useful exertion, nor even accurate information, much less good counsel, is to be expected from them.

“I have written to Copleston a letter of which I enclose a copy, as it contains, with the addition of what I write to Cole and Hodson, all that I have yet communicated to the university on the subject.

“God bless you. Since I wrote the above the impression of an hour’s walk in the snow is more strongly against giving way in this case—1. Because the more I reflect on the two assertions the more reluctant I feel to say with my own mouth

and on such an occasion that the present advantages are in an eminent degree due (not to the firmness of the country generally and of its government for three and twenty years, which is what I had proposed,) but (which they themselves shew they mean to be something different from this) to the firmness, etc. of the Prince Regent and his Ministers for the last two or three years: or that to the courage and wisdom of this country, taking these in their largest sense, and extending them to the longest period you will, the successes on the Continent (for that is after all the true meaning of their circuitous and ambiguous phrase) are chiefly to be ascribed. In plain English that Lord Sidmouth set fire to Moscow and Lord Liverpool commanded the combined armies at Leipsie.

“2. Because I think the final draft of the address has been framed with so evident an intention of compelling me to swallow what I dislike, that this alone ought in a doubtful case to weigh strongly with me.

“If I determine not to go, I daresay you will approve of my idea of doing so without any further discussion or explanation, simply saying that as I shall not be in town I am sorry I cannot receive the delegates at Camelford House, which I should have had much pleasure in doing.

“What separate explanation it may be good to put into Hodson’s hands or Copleston’s is another question, but this must be at a subsequent time, and not as a communication from the Chancellor to the university. After all I hope to have your opinions and not mine.” *Copy.*

THOMAS GRENVILLE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1814, February 2. Cleveland Square.—“The post is not come. As soon as I had thoroughly read your papers I made them up and returned them to J[ohn] King, in order that you may have them by the post of to-day. The first remark that I have to make upon them is by regretting the deplorable want of common judgment and discretion in your best and warmest friends at Oxford, who by a little exercise of plain sense might evidently have prevented all the embarrassments of this question, for it seems very manifest that the wish and intention was to have framed such an address as you might concur in, if any one of your friends had assisted in the construction of it with that view, or had previously asked your opinion upon any doubtful point of it.

“The correspondence and discussion which has grown out of their mismanagement does certainly a little increase your difficulties, because by your becoming a party to the original framing and construction of the words you are somewhat more strictly held to all the passages of it than you might have been by adopting their address, if it had been one that

you could have prescribed though you would not have written it. To the address which you have proposed to them, I do not see any the least objection as on your part, nor should I have imagined there would have been any on theirs. I admit too that in point of propriety it would have been more decorous towards you to have adopted, or rejected, what you had written, rather than to have corrected it like a scholar's exercise by engrafting upon it their own alterations and amendments. And yet, though I admit this, I shall not be sorry that such alterations shall be made in it as shall constitute it their composition instead of yours, provided always that their insertions shall not appear to you to be objectionable in point of matter. The address that you propose to them was framed by you to meet your previous knowledge of their sentiments, and to accommodate those sentiments a little more nearly to your own; but, though there is not a word in it which you need scruple to read *as from them*, it has in it much more of adulation than would become your pen in addressing the Regent upon those topics from yourself. For these reasons I shall not be sorry that the paper in question should be so altered by them as to make it their own, instead of enabling them to say that it was yours; an assertion which they might have made if they had adopted your paper, although in truth that paper of yours should only be considered as your revisal and amendment of theirs. With this observation, which seems to be not unimportant, and begging the question that their amendments shall appear to you to be such as you can read though you may not entirely approve, I still revert to my former opinion, and, if you can conscientiously read it with the fair latitude to be given to the high church spirit of Oxford, I shall think it very desirable that you should go up with it, for the reasons which I have detailed in my former letter.

"I agree very much in the opinions which you state as to the 'awakened energy and union of the powers of Europe,' but I think you limit too much the effect which I attribute to Lord Wellington's victories in Spain, which I think extended far beyond the mere occupation of so many French regiments; (which by the bye you call 60,000 men when in truth they were about three weeks ago above 100,000, for Lord Liverpool told Lord Holland that Soult had above 60,000 and Suchet above 40,000). But another great result of Lord Wellington's successes over the different French generals has been the disgrace and military disparagement of the French by the successive defeats that they have sustained in Spain; and I have no doubt that this circumstance has had great and powerful effect both with Austria and with the Princes of Germany, and the people of Europe: nor am I at all inclined to turn from this topic because it arises out of the war in Spain

to which I thought there were so many objections in true wisdom and policy. I am still persuaded that humanly speaking our view of that question was originally the right view ; but still as the event has turned out, I cannot but think that Lord Wellington's success has told very powerfully indeed upon the general favourable result that we see in the present moment.

“The post has just this moment brought me your letter of yesterday but I have not yet received the address and letters of Cole and Hodgson, though in the course of the day it may come from King if you have sent it to him. But without waiting to read the address, I see enough in your letter only to do away all the original desire that I had felt to see you present the Oxford address ; and though Lord Spencer being in Suffolk I cannot have his advice, I do not think the case can be considered as doubtful with the impression which your letter shews you to have received from it. The moment that you see in their language any traces of their wishing to force upon you the utterance of opinions which they know you must object to, the whole character of the transaction changes in my eyes, and makes it a duty in you to guard yourself and your public sentiments against the humiliation which is intended to be imposed upon you. Of this intention I think there is the most undeniable evidence from their having inserted that passage of praise of the Prince for ‘treading in the steps of the King,’ which in other words must be the praise of the Prince for taking the King's Ministers into his confidence instead of taking Lord Grenville and Lord Grey ; and upon this one sentence alone, and the re-insertion of it, after you had omitted it, I should say that I should feel quite mortified and humbled for you to hear any such words read by you as the expression of your sentiments, nor do I think it would be fair and honourable to your colleagues, even if you were ready to take this humiliation upon yourself. The general tone of adulation I certainly felt to be very disgusting ; the due distance and proportion between the goodness of the Creator and the merits of the Prince is detestable both in sentiment and language ; the ascribing the humiliation of the foe in an eminent degree to the perseverance of the Prince is another phrase which expresses an untruth from any mouth, and from yours would be a fulsome lie told for your own humiliation ; but chief and above all others is the praise of the Prince for treading in the steps of the King, which if you was disposed to read I should close my eyes and ears that I might neither hear nor see you commit such an act of suicide to your own character and public position. I should almost have said that it was needless to add a word more of criticism, so confident do I feel that every moment's consideration of this last sentence will shew you the impossi-

bility of your conceiving the idea of your reading such a satire upon your own political principles, conduct and connections, as is conveyed in that one sentence. I must, however, also notice, as you have done, the 'magnanimous views of the Prince as to peace' and believing as I do, from good authority, that the Bourbons make one of the conditions among his 'magnanimous views' I certainly could not but object to any words that made me a party to any such *sine qua non* magnanimous conditions.

"One word more, which is to finish as I began, by observing that the discussion which has taken place increases in my mind all the other difficulties, which, however, appear to me so insurmountable that I should be quite in an agony if I did not perceive that you are already almost as adverse to the presenting this address as I can wish you to be. It is plainly an insult to you which your friends are too foolish to perceive or too helpless to repel.

"I will keep my letter open to see if the address comes before the post goes; but my opinion cannot be changed by any words in it while there are in it those which you have quoted. I certainly think you will do best not to argue any part of it, but simply to *decline* presenting it and to regret that you cannot be in town to receive them."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1814, February 3. Cleveland Square.—"King has this moment sent me the address and the letters, which I will return to him, but as the post is at its last ring, he probably cannot return them to you before to-morrow. I remain entirely of the same opinion that I expressed yesterday; it is impossible to understand the praise of the Prince for treading in the steps of his father in any other sense than that of a compliment to him for giving his confidence and the administration of the country to the King's friends instead of to his own; in other words requiring you from your own mouth to thank the Prince for selecting Lord Liverpool in preference to Lord Grenville.

"If anything could add to this insult, it is that it should be repeated and insisted upon after you had shewn them that you could not speak that sentiment. I trust your opinion is as much decided as mine against your having any part in this precious paper. I think your letters are very good, subject only to the remark that I wish you had left less doubt and less question of your ultimate decision as to refusing to go up with the address.

"Hodgson and Cole are both bullied into a terror of their antagonists, and are quite helpless."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1814, February 5. Cleveland Square.—"Every recollection and reflection upon the address furnishes some new objection

to it. Does it not strike you that, if it were possible the 'treading in the steps' should not mean the praise of the Prince for taking the King's Ministers, it must mean the praise of the Prince for adopting the King's opinions on the Catholic question? I know no striking instances of the Prince's 'treading in his father's steps,' except these two, both of which interpretations it is equally an insult to you to propose to you to utter. I am surprised that this covered allusion to their favourite question did not strike me at first.

"I continue to think that in this view of the subject I should be tempted to say that 'as I must decline presenting the address, I was sorry that I could not upon that occasion hope to receive them at Camelford House.' I think putting it upon the plea of 'absence from London only' does not seem to me sufficiently explicit, and is more equivocal than it need be, but of this you will be the best judge. Coppleston's is a sensible letter, but it is highly fit that he should know your objection to 'treading in steps.'

"I don't understand your university law, but it is difficult to believe that in old times the university of Oxford should have ventured to address the Throne without the express concurrence of their Chancellor.

"The Paris papers suppose the Allies to have fallen back to Langres. I feel a little nervous; but yet it seems pretty clear that the Silesian and Austrian army have made good their junction.

"Lord Sidmouth told Lord Buckingham yesterday *in confidence* that, if the war went on, *as he believed it would*, Holland would be left to the Crown Prince, the English troops recalled and sent to Lord Wellington, and that this latter would probably be the immediate destination of himself and Watkin.

"Lady Holland was fool enough yesterday to say before ten people that she hoped Bonaparte would let but few of the Allies get back to Frankfort. This is very disgusting even in a woman of such an irregular mind, and does a mischief and discredit beyond belief."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1814, February 24. Cleveland Square.—"I write a line to say that I this moment hear from Temple that the will is found in a green box stuffed into a little dressing trunk in Lady Buckingham's boudoir; this looks like the story of the watch; but I am sincerely gratified that it is found, as poor Temple is relieved by it from a most painful responsibility; he has, however, had the opportunity of manifesting the warm feelings of his good heart in a way that entitles him to the affection of all who know him. The only circumstance of the will that he mentions in his hurry is that George is to have

Gosfield to live at, which surprises me, as his poor father talking with me on this point in October agreed with me that George must somehow or other be in Bucks and not in Essex.

“Temple talks of coming up to town on Tuesday next.

“I think it appears manifest that the Prince Regent had forced Lord Liverpool to offer the Lieutenancy to Lord Chesterfield, and that Liverpool did this in a way to shew Chesterfield that he wished him to refuse it, which in fact he did. Still I think it is Temple’s business and ours to consider this as a great grace given, and I hope Temple will not be provoked by hearing of the offer to Lord Chesterfield; because we ought all to wish that Temple’s mind may rather be softened than exasperated upon political topics. Lord Chesterfield wrote me as kind a letter as possible, full of condolence and the most direct promise of support.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1814, March 1. Cleveland Square.—“Lord Buckingham has received orders to prepare for immediate embarkation to Passages to join Lord Wellington’s army: his private letters from Lord Bathurst and from Lord Sidmouth announce his very speedy embarkation, with a promise of a few days’ notice before he actually embarks. Under these circumstances he goes to Dropmore on Wednesday the 2nd and from thence on Friday to Portsmouth, to wait his orders. I am anxious to see as much of him as I can, and from his wish as well as from my own, I propose to accompany him to Dropmore and to stay there till Friday. It appears that the official order was dated the day after Mr. Robinson’s arrival from Calais, and therefore it is evident they do not consider peace to be as certain as I do. Robinson is believed to be now again sent back from hence with our Government’s consent to the bases for negotiation, and it is imagined that up to the present time there have been only *pourparlers* going on at Chatillon, but that Robinson’s return will open a regular negotiation. What basis we have agreed to I know not, nor whether after all we shall bring our naval flag into the Continental negotiation; though I hope and trust this is not the case, yet I have heard so much of Lord Liverpool’s extreme dejection this last week, that I should augur ill from it: some people, however, attribute it only to the difficulty which the Ministers have found in obtaining the Prince’s consent to opening negotiation. In truth the newspapers have so much inflamed the public mind with the belief of our having conquered the world, and of its belonging to us to parcel it out as we wish, that Lord Castlereagh will not find it easy to satisfy the expectations that the *Courier* and the *Times* have taught the people to indulge: this is in some respect a just judgment

upon the Ministers, who have tacitly favoured this monstrous fallacy in order to make themselves the heroes of this golden age. My mind misgives me that Mr. Robinson will find his army a good deal more to the eastward than when he left it. A battle must take place, for the country is so exhausted that, when Blucher has joined the Austrians, there will be more mouths than meat, and Bonaparte will surely not willingly defer his next battle till the Crown Prince shall have joined the Allies.

“I hear Whitbread is likely to make a very absurd speech in praise of Bonaparte, for the *wise* purpose of removing those *prejudices* against treating with him which arise from our national hatred of him. I want Elliot to answer him, but I doubt if he will.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1814, March 10. Cleveland Square.—“There is no other news but a blind report of Bonaparte’s having turned back from the pursuit of Blucher, as soon as he heard of Prince Schwartzburg’s advance: Ministers are said to believe this, though as I fancy upon very slight grounds.”

Postscript.—“Lord Buckingham writes he embarks on Monday, and expects to sail if the wind is fair. Rogers has taken from us ten rich West Indiamen.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1814, March. Cleveland Square.—“Though the evening papers will probably tell you all our news, I must write one line to say that Lord Spencer, meeting Lord Liverpool at two this day on Charter House business, was told by him that they have just got *Moniteurs* from the 2nd to the 7th inclusive. The *Moniteur* says that there had been much fighting for several days which ended in a more general affair on the 4th between Brienne and St. Dizier; great loss ‘of several thousands’ is acknowledged by the French, and the French Emperor retired to Troyes, where he was supposed to be on the 7th; the *Moniteur* further states that Lord Castlereagh, Rosamouski, Stadion, and Caulincourt were holding a conference at Chatillon sur Seine. The fighting took place chiefly with Blucher’s army. In the city reports add that the Cossacks have reached the walls of Paris, and that the senate at Paris are negotiating with the Allies for the safety of the city.

“It is further observed that though the *Moniteur* of 6th describes all these important traces of defeat, the *Moniteur* of the 7th is totally silent upon all public affairs.

“It seems evident that a final blow has been struck; how far the Allies may be disposed to push their success remains

for Lord Castlereagh to see. Lord Spencer thought Lord Liverpool mentioned the conference at Chatillon with less pleasure than the rest."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1814, March. Cleveland Square.—"After Lord Liverpool's exaggeration of the *Moniteurs*, I do not like to quote Ministers ; but Greville, Lord Bathurst's secretary, has just told Lord Holland that a telegraphic account is come up from Deal of a flag of truce having just landed Silvester the messenger there from *France*.

"In the city they reckon their peace secure ; omnium is to-day at 27—some people think that the Austrians have forced this negotiation by refusing to advance in support of Blucher, but this is all speculation only. A *Moniteur* of 8th is in town, but its contents are not known."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1814, March. Cleveland Square.—"The first report of yesterday was that the telegraph had announced to the Admiralty the arrival of Silvester with a flag of truce at Deal from France ; it was soon added that to a telegraphic question from the Admiralty of 'what news ?' they answered by the Deal telegraph 'Bonaparte rejects the terms.' Later in the evening Silvester arrived ; and two hours after his arrival the language of Government people was that 'no terms had been proposed or rejected, and that Silvester was sent by Lord Castlereagh merely to ascertain whether he should have the right permitted to him of sending through France as he, Lord Castlereagh, had stipulated. This is so foolish that I do not believe it, though this is what B. told his former master Lord S[pencer], who repeated it to me. I am persuaded there is a great deal more that they keep back. Silvester has brought Sir C[harles] Stuart's account of Blucher's victory, which is to be in a *Gazette* to-night ; it announces Blucher having taken 3,000 prisoners and 75 pieces of cannon ; and further Government profess to know with certainty that Yorck has beaten Macdonald. The only news I hear to-day from good source is that late last night the Prince was heard to say 'the terms offered had been rejected' and Lord Cholmondeley an hour ago coming out of Carleton House said there was no news to-day except that two hours ago an account arrived of a great firing having been heard all along the French coast ; which is confirmed by Lord Bathurst's secretary, who added that it must be either for preliminaries or some success of the French.

"The language of all London is much more in fear of peace than in hope of it ; the papers teaching everybody to believe

that Bonaparte is overpowered. Nobody will be satisfied with less than his head; and though I could not make that a *sine qua non*, I heartily wish I could enter into partnership with a cannon ball for that special purpose, as the terms of peace would then become more easy and practicable.

"Silvester reports that Paris was in no degree of ferment that he saw, nor was there anywhere that he passed any cry of Bonaparte or Bourbon—but he saw arrive troops from Suchet's army."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1814, March. Cleveland Square.—"No news except that a *Moniteur* of the 11th is in town which describes no military movement whatever, but is full of the continued conference at Chatillon, and boasts of the splendid interchange of dinners between Caulincourt and Castlereagh. This military inaction at so critical a moment looks to me very like their waiting the answer to Sylvester's flag of truce. I wish to hear of them moving forward as I fear Bonaparte profits by delay, and for the Allies at this moment to do nothing is to lose everything.

"Lady Burghersh writes to Lady Duncannon that for her own safety, while her husband is fighting, she attaches herself to the Emperor of Austria, whom she considers as offering in his company always the best security against danger. This does not sound like the praise of the Austrian eagle. Bellegarde is said to have entered the South of France with 30,000 men and to be marching in the direction of Soult. Barrow, the Admiralty Secretary, writes Crawford word that a treaty is signed between King Murat and the Emperor of Austria, which enables Bellegarde to move; but if Bonaparte revives Murat's treaty will be applied only to the most homely purposes.

"Lord [? Holland's] room becomes almost to me unapproachable, from its being the only house in London where our success is disparaged and our allies abused."

Postscript.—"You see the firing heard on the 11th could not be for victory, as there is a *Moniteur*.

"I am just told there is a report of Bonaparte having beat a Russian corps on 10th and again that he beat Sacker on the 11th, taking in the two days 16,000 men and 90 cannon. I do not know how this report comes."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1814, March. Cleveland Square.—"I write one line to say that Sir W[illiam] Scott told me yesterday he believed the Parliament would be adjourned, and Tierney has just told me it will adjourn to the 17th as he is informed.

"Lord Liverpool is described to be very low; and the

opinion seems to be that there will be peace. I expect Bonaparte will attack the allied army before the Crown Prince brings up his 34,000 men from Cologne ; and if he beats them he will probably make peace on the other side of the Rhine ; if they beat him, which I do not expect, they will make peace at Paris ; if it is a drawn battle they will make peace at Chatillon."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1814, March. Cleveland Square.—"The account in the *Moniteur* of the pursuit of Blucher towards Soissons was discouraging ; but Cook has just told Lord Essex that a second edition of the day has just printed a letter from Clermont of the 16th, received in the city by way of Boulogne, which says that after four days' hard fighting Schwartzburg had put himself between Paris and Bonaparte, and that the Cossacks are at Lagny, 16 miles from Paris. They sent a messenger last night. The Prince is reported still unwell ; and there is an appearance of concealment and mystery about his health."

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

[1814,] April 12. Eden Farm.—"As yours of yesterday contained nothing that might not be known to Mr. Vansittart, without inconvenience or breach of any confidence, I did not hesitate to read it to him ; I leave it to him to express what he feels on the subject."

Private.—"I have a letter from the Dean of Christ Church, in which he repeats what I had already heard that the Speaker has written to him to say that 'he has no thoughts of retiring from his present situation, but will immediately give notice when such an event shall be in contemplation.' I have some reason to believe that the Dean is in some degree committed to Canning ; but that promise was made when Mr. Canning was very differently circumstanced, and I have not any belief that Liverpool would be abandoned for a certain defeat in Oxford. If that engagement should be cleared, I have no doubt that the Dean will decide for Mr. Vansittart."

"In the event of Sir William Scott's vacating it seems probable that Heber would beat Br[agge] Bath[urst], but the contest would be strong. It seems to be the prevalent opinion that Wetherall, though supported by the Chancellor, has no chance."

"It certainly is a blessing of incalculable importance to be freed from the predominating and malignant energies of Buonaparte. But I am not so clearly convinced that 'all the rest is plain sailing.'"

"I have not yet [seen] the constitutional charter tendered to Louis XVIII, nor has it yet been communicated to Government ;

but it is understood to have established the Revolutionary Senate, the Revolutionary Legislature, and all the titles, commissions, establishments, grants, pretended purchases, and pensions. If this be really so, it will be a great scene of desolation and despair to the innumerable and loyal adherents. Nor is it intelligible how such an establishment is to be paid and maintained. People may acquiesce for the present, but the masked animosities would be infinite and there would be a sort of civil war smothered but still ready to burst forth from its ashes in every part of the French empire. Possibly the true state of the case may be different, but it is not yet understood or known to be otherwise than as I have described it. We shall know more in the course of 24 hours ; in the meantime it is difficult to comprehend the facilities shewn by the Allied Powers to Talleyrand, Maury, the Prince of Moskowa and others. They are bad politicians if they conceive that they have an interest in leaving France in a state of distraction.

“As to his Most Christian Majesty it is much to be regretted that his constitution is so unequal to the energies which the occasion calls for. We may say of him with Hotspur

‘How has he the leisure to be sick

In such a justling time?’”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1814, May 31. Cleveland Square.—“I have had a good deal to do lately with poor Crawford’s affairs, and was not able till yesterday to say anything to Lady Buckingham about Stowe in reference to the possibility of these Emperors, Kings and Regents. I found her not only as much disinclined as myself to the idea of their being *received* there in the absence of the master of the house ; but a little more conversation with her convinced me that there can be no question of it, and that for reasons which I daresay will satisfy you whenever I see you to speak of them to you.

“She goes on Thursday to Avington : her last letter from Toulouse from her husband gave a most delightful account of his interview with Duke [of] Wellington whom he does not know how sufficiently to praise : at first sight of Lord Buckingham he turned quite pale and could hardly restrain his tears, and the affectionate kindness with which he behaved to Lord Buckingham has quite won his heart, and mine too by his report of him. He says there is no conceiving the ascendancy which he has over everyone that comes near him, stranger as well as English, and Lord Buckingham seems quite as much struck with the enlarged and improved scale of his understanding, as he is by his military reputation and influence. I find he expects to settle all the ill blood at Madrid in a few days, in which I fear he is too sanguine ; he then returns to pass a day with Lord Buckingham at Bordeaux,

and takes Lord Buckingham from thence with him to Paris. I have just heard that 20,000 troops are going to Ireland, the state of which has much alarmed the Government. I hear there is no end of transport expense ; what can they be thinking enough [*sic*] not to employ our men of war in this service ? 8,000 of the Russian guard are coming to Isle of Wight, and large corps are to *refresh in England on their way home.*"

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1814, June 2. Cleveland Square.—“ Lord Carysfort has just been with me, in the hourly expectation of Lord Sandwich’s death. I think he talks very reasonably upon the subject and seems to be proceeding very prudently to feel the ground about his son, whose prospects are much encouraged by the Bishop of Lincoln : Lord Frederick Montagu is the only person who is now of age to stand as a relation to the Montagu families, and he is abroad, and is said to have always refused to be in Parliament ; if he should however be put up Lord C[arysfort] says he shall not think of opposing him. The only other expected candidate is Lord Aboyne’s son, who is quite a stranger in the county, and whose property does not command ten votes. The Duchess of Manchester Dowager told the Bishop that she had no wish upon the subject till her grandson shall be of age, who is now only twelve, but she added that the Duke of Bedford and Adam are named by the Duke of Manchester as absolutely to direct all the politics connected with the Duke’s estate. In the Duke of Bedford’s absence Adam has then the sole control ; and it is a great object to gain him ; Lord Carysfort and I both agree in thinking that in the peculiar circumstances in which Adam stands you could probably do much more by seeing him than by writing to him, as much may be said on these subjects that could not so easily be written. I do not know your intentions or engagements, but I undertook to state this to you for your consideration. Lord Carysfort thinks also that it is important for you to see Lord Hardwick upon the same subject.

“I am writing in so dark a fog that I can hardly see, while the streets are so full of the drawing room as to be impassable for any other purpose. Lord Carysfort is pretty well. The General has been very ill with his old complaint, but is now a good deal better.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1814, [June 5–6]. Cleveland Square.—“ As I collect from your letter that you wish for some friends of your own at Oxford, I have been to Lord Spencer and he agrees to go and I have promised to accompany him, if you think it is of any use : perhaps I could get the Duke of Somerset to go if you think it desirable. You should have Mr. Imms and anything

or anybody else that I can furnish ; but if you accept of Lord Spencer and me, we must beg you to have lodgings hired for us, which we suppose you can persuade Hodgson to hire for us easily as we shall only want two bedrooms and a little place to breakfast in : upon him too we must rely for his hiring for us the doctors' gowns and caps if they will be wanted.

" I am afraid your influence with Adam will be of no avail, as Lord Liverpool has told the Bishop of Lincoln that he has secured the Manchester interest for Lord Aboyne, who is the Government candidate, and Lord Hinchinbrooke being arrived in town, I suppose he too will be secured in case of his father's death ; his father is, however, expected to last some days more.

" If Lord Aboyne is supported by both Montagu families and Government, it would be a wild project for our invalid to undertake such a canvass for his absent son : I hope in that case he will not."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1814, August. 2. Ryde.—" I had scarcely landed at Ryde yesterday before I saw Lord Buckingham's fly sailing in from Calais, and in a few minutes he was on shore. He is quite well, in good brown health, and full of spirits French and English. He saw the King three or four days ago to take leave, who was full of peace and good will, and has given him the *Fleurs de Lys* of the Legion of Honour for all his officers ; among whom Lord Buckingham has judiciously contrived to include Sir W. Clayton, who will not be insensible to this decoration of his regimentals. Lord Buckingham says that the marshals will probably soon contrive to renew war ; and he thinks war more likely from Suchet being talked of as Minister of War, and Suchet has very plainly told Lord Buckingham that the only way to secure peace is by giving the Rhine as a boundary to France. He is persuaded that France will support Alexander's claims to Poland against Austria, and will be repaid by the Russians in the boundary of the Rhine ; and this seems to me to be a greater danger than Castlereagh will perhaps be able to parry in the Congress. Lord Buckingham says that Alexander was scarcely out of England before he sent orders to Pozzo de Borgo to take precedence at Paris, and Lord Buckingham saw the English orders to Stuart at Paris, to give no precedence to other foreign Ministers either royal or imperial : so that the doors at Paris and Vienna must open pretty widely, or there will be diplomatic duels in every anti-chamber.

" Lord Buckingham talks of going to town for a day to see the Regent and Duke of York, and probably will return here for some days before he goes to Stowe.

" George Grey the commissioner told me that he was most

graciously received at the Prince's last levee, and the Duke of Kent told him that Lord Grey's manly and honourable conduct about the Duke of Sussex would never be forgotten by the Prince and that the whole royal family felt themselves under the greatest obligations to him, and regretted exceedingly that he had not come up sooner, as his wise and judicious conduct would have prevented all the late painful feelings of the royal family.

"I did not betray to George Grey the original object of the journey to town, but was not a little amused at this judicious explosion of princely gratitude."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1814, August 8. Ryde.—"I have a letter from Lord Carnarvon to claim my promise, and one from Butleigh pressing me to go there, and announcing a much more comfortable state of the General's health.

"I think therefore that I shall shorten my stay here in order to make my visit to both those places accord as well as I can with yours. I have written to Lord Carnarvon to say that I would communicate with you, and to tell him that my general notion was to stay here another week, and then to meet Lord Buckingham at Avington for three or four days there with him, after which I should be ready for High Clere in my way to Butleigh. This you see would bring me to High Clere about the 18th, which if I recollect was about the time you had originally destined. Pray write me word by return of post how far this notion would suit you and Lady Grenville.

"Lord Buckingham is gone to town to-day to have an audience of the Regent about the Fleurs de Lys for his officers, and he will be at Avington in a week for a few days before he goes to Stowe.

"I find that the Duke of Newcastle's threat of shewing *his opinions of the present Government* IF they did not give Clinton the red ribbon and Gibraltar, has failed: the Regent refuses *both* though he offered *either*; Clinton has the ribbon, and therefore the Prince has offered Gibraltar to Sir Lowry Cole, who has refused it because it was first offered to an inferior officer to himself.

"The report is that Lord Wellesley will be Ambassador to Petersburg, and this report gains ground, though one should have thought that the ridicule thrown on Canning's embassy would not have encouraged the same taste in Lord Wellesley."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1814, September 26. Castle Hill.—"Hester will not let me go to Pixton till the 29th, and when my visit there is over my friends at Trentham will expect me, so that it will not be

before the middle of October that I shall see you at Dropmore.

“Earl Boringdon is here and told Lord Graves that he is to be made an earl of *when the others are made* : this does not seem quite an early date, for so many are said to be promised under the same description of time, that the time never comes for making any. He is returning to Saltram to receive Lord Melville.

“Have you heard of the Sieur Croker’s adventure at Portsmouth? He went on board the *Crescent* and absolutely forced Captain Ward to salute *him the wretched Croker with 13 guns!!!* This audacious display of vanity made so much indignation among the blue-coats that representation was made to the Admiralty on this degradation of naval honours, and the Board was obliged to direct Secretary Croker to write a severe reprimand to Captain Ward for having presumed to fire a salute of thirteen guns in honour of Secretary Croker.

“This has made so much sensation, that all Portsmouth believes in a change of the Board or in the removal of Croker, whose daily impertinences to the officers and merchants become daily topics of animadversion. Hay, Lord Marlborough’s private secretary, is just provided for at the Victualling Office, which increases the belief of change; but it seems to me very unlikely.

“No news of Congress can reach Parliament by the 10th; I am still afraid of hostile results at the Congress.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1814, October 6. Trentham.—“I enclose to you by return of post Mr. Pinkerton’s letter. The general project of a methodical publication of the *Scriptores Rerum Anglicarum* seems to be very deserving of encouragement, and may reasonably expect to find it, as the rage for collections has already tempted the booksellers to reprint the English Chronicles. The general reputation of Pinkerton for laborious historical research would also, as I believe, well justify his being employed in preparing such an edition for the press; and it is evident by his letter that he is willing and desirous to undertake it. So far therefore is easy enough; but the difficulty is how to provide the means of remuneration to which he properly and naturally looks. I cannot say that the suggestion of your letter seems to me to be free of objection. A work of this sort, which is a mere compilation, will hardly invite even among our own friends an annuity of 200*l.* *per annum* for the years employed in this compilation; nor would it perhaps be found very practicable to exercise the control and inspection which you suppose to be purchased by such a payment; with the ‘*genus irritabile vatum*’ I should not envy any such literary board of control. His

encouragement and payment, as it appears to me, might be more eonnected with the work itself, which would give him the whole and entire control of his own work, without the humiliating charaeter of an annuitant, liable to a supposed control very difficult to exereise. My notion therefore would be to invite him to print his own prospcetus with a promise of produeing the first volume in two years, after 250 subseribers shall have subscribed, agreeably to Longman's proposal; then I would further propose that for his more immediate eneouragement, 25 names should if possible be found among our friends who would give 10*l.* this year and 10*l.* next year or 20*l.* at once, being an antieipated purchase of a L[arge] P[aper] copy of the first volume, which will thus at the end of two years have eost them 20*l.*, and will thus have furnished to Mr. Pinkerton 250*l.* *per annum* for the two years of his labour. These 25 copies might be of a superior paper and these should be limited to 25. But Longman might for his advantage and that of Mr. Pinkerton print whatever number he pleased of a large paper provided the 25 were of a superior quality. This mode seems to me to be entirely free from any objection execept it be supposed difficult to find the 25, which I should think very possible. Lord Grenville, myself, Lord Speneer, Lord Stafford, Lord Buckingham, Duke of Devonshire, Lord Lansdown, Sir W[atkin] W[illiams] Wynn and several others would probably adopt this, *if you sent the proposal* to them as one to which you wish to give eneouragement, or you might obtain Lord Speneer's name added to yours in such a letter if you prefer it."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1814, Oetober 11. Trentham.—"Since I wrote to you I have taken an opportunity of naming Mr. Pinkerton to Lord Stafford, the rather beecause I recollected that he had had some transaetions with Mr. Pinkerton. I do not find his report at all eneouraging; he eonsiders him as a mere book-maker, and one of the most irritable of the *genus irritabile*, and says for himself that he would have nothing to do with any patronage of him, from the persuasion that he will soon quarrel with his patrons and abuse them. How far this judgment eoneerning him is eorrect I know not, but I thought it right to state it to you just as I had heard it, and it is at least deeisive against any expeetation of eneouragement from the master of this house. I find Charles Long ealled here in his way to Lord Lonsdale's and was full of the Princee's praises of you at one of his great dinners, where he called aecross to Long to tell him how mueh he had lost by not being at Oxford, and how highly he, the Prince, thought of Lord Grenville's civility and kindness to him. I know this will overpower

your grateful sensibilities, and make upon you all the impression that it ought.

“Lord G[ranville] Leveson is here but does not profess to name any distinct time, though he expects an early one, for his peerage. I find Lady Crewe had been here last week, and told Lady S[tafford] that if there was an election for Staffordshire, Lord Crewe’s interest must go with Lord Grey’s wishes, which would probably be for some opposition candidate against Lord Gower; this was not very wise of our Cheshire friend, though I have told them here that it is only female tattle certainly unauthorised; but yet I find there is a strong notion that Lord Grey would canvass for Wrottesley: my canvassing will be for Gower, who, by what I hear, will certainly succeed. He is daily expected here from France to be ready to start.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1814, October 17. Trentham.—“I have given your message to Lord Stafford and Lord Gower, who seemed much gratified with it. It might be useful to put Lord Gower upon his guard as to any reports relative to his being supposed adverse to Lord Stafford’s wishes in this county; but I very much hope that you have not quoted Lady Crewe in your letter to him, because her conversation with Lady Stafford was entirely confidential, and it would make a great *tracasserie* if Lord Gower should write to Lord Crewe and complain of Lady Crewe’s silly and unauthorised conversation.

“What has hitherto kept me here is still in some sort a secret; though it will necessarily soon be known: I found here the Howard who is heir to the Duke of Norfolk after his own father’s death; this young man has proposed to Lady Charlotte Leveson, and as there was some reason to expect the Duke of Norfolk here, as they did not much know him, they were very anxious with me to stay his visit; he is just come and is delighted with his heir’s choice, so that I trust all will go on as well as I could wish, and I do wish very well to Lady Charlotte, who is a most excellent young woman. Mr. Howard is gone to his father in Suffolk, after which he will return here: he seems a plain, unaffected, reasonable and good-natured man.

“The Duke will not stay above a day or so, and I will come on to you as soon as they will let me go.”

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1814, November [18]. Cleveland Square.—“I was not aware that you meant to go before Saturday and so I missed you. I have had a letter from Goddard privately asking me whether I will be a Vice President of his adults, and telling me you are

invited to be President. As far as I know of the institution, which is mighty little, I have no very great respect for the institution, as, though I am friendly to the teaching of reading and writing, I think the teaching belongs in propriety to younger years, and does not naturally promise much from the labourer after he is come to man's estate—but there is no harm in the experiment. I am disposed to decline the Vice President and to offer an individual name and subscription only; but if you wish to encourage it and have any desire for my name as Vice President I certainly would not stand off from what you endeavour to promote. I leave to you therefore, if you will let me, after these few words, to make what answer for me you will to Mr. Goddard.

“Have you any prints of founders among your Oxonienses? I met by chance with two, viz. Lady Pembroke and another with their titles as founders to the print; one costs five shillings and the other nine, but I would not order them for you till I knew if you wish for them.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1814, November 22. Cleveland Square.—“I enclose a line in consequence of your wishes to tell Mr. Goddard that my name is at his service for V[ice] P[resident] though I cannot promise personal attendance. I have told Floyer to send you your two founders.

“I have just heard from my sister that she is safely arrived at Aix and her daughter is safely landed at Marseilles and will join her after ten days' quarantine. Watkin is gone to Vienna and returns to Wynnstay for Christmas. Sir S[tephen] Glynn's cough is rather increased, but they hope the genial air of Nice will stop it; he is there by this time. I believe D[uke of] Wellington is coming home. Colonel Campbell who manages his household arrived three days ago, and told Sydenham, who told Watson, who told it me, that a plot had been just discovered for blowing up the arch at Paris, ascribing this to the English at Paris, and raising the people to make *main basse* upon all the English: he confirms the account of the Duke having been shot at in a review, and says not a day passes without letters apprising the Duke of some intention to insult or assault him.

“The party spirit against the Bourbons seems to increase at Paris, but the household troops attached to the King are already 9,000, who have at present the command of Paris. The dismissal of the officers for making charges against their superior officer (two of which are proved) continues to engage the public talk. Lord Egmont is in the highest indignation and has taken his son out of the army; Major Thornton, appointed by the Prince to fill one of these vacancies from

another regiment, has refused to serve under Quintin and will not accept; but the Prince has named Lord Manners and Lowther instead of Palmer and Robarts, and has insulted the dismissed officers by demanding the *return* of their *regimental swords*, a thing without example in the service: one of the captains returned the *hilt* observing that the blade was shot away in action by the same ball which gave him a very heavy wound!!!

“Lord Essex had a bad fall from his horse at Cashiobury on Sunday, but Halford who was sent for says there is no danger, though his back is bruised, for the kidneys are not injured, which was at first apprehended. He keeps his bed, but certainly is thought to be in no manner of danger.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1814, November 26. Cleveland Square.—“If the conviction of a lie were any new disgrace it is completely incurred in this instance, but the gentleman in question is rolling round his rooms at Brighton with his round and lusty mistress, and cares not what happens, so that he can shew his power, and lord it over his wretched subalterns.

“The American conferences are just such as might be expected from those who are deputed to confer; nothing but folly, ignorance and imbecility in the pompous affectation of diplomatic gibberish; but the country is so anti-American that they will reluctantly yield to entertain any question that points at peace. Peace or war is in truth in Sacket’s harbour; if our attack there fails John Bull will comfort himself for his defeat by the abuse of the Ministers who already totter, if there was any popular shoulder to give them a shove; but if we succeed at Sacket’s harbour we shall be all for war again, forgetting that what is difficult for us this year in America, will be impossible next year. Did you ever see the like of Van[sittart] and Bathurst and Mr. Pole on the subject of Naples, though awkwardly stated by Whitbread?

“Pray tell me what I ought to give Goddard in the shape of subscription; I have not enthusiasm enough to be grand on this occasion, but I would do what is proper—pray tell me what the V[ice] P[resident] must give.”

Postscript.—“By what I hear the Ministers do not much like their American *Gazette* of this night though I have not yet seen it.”

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1814, November 28. Trentham.—“I had observed Lord Donoughmore’s notice and took for granted that you would avail yourself of it. As I generally eat my own chicken at five, you must see that it cannot be the smallest inconvenience to me to eat it at four with you, which I shall be very glad

to do. I shall therefore expect you at four on Thursday, and you shall have the carriage to take you to the House. Tierney told me yesterday that there are great rumours of American peace, and that Baring's house is said to have already speculated largely on that belief. But that hope, even if true, does not render it a whit less necessary to expose the folly and imbecility of Ministers, who, having had an opportunity after their success of making peace with honour to the country, wait till they are driven into that necessity by the disgrace and defeat which their own want of sufficient preparation has produced.

"Report says that the general feeling in Italy is all in favour of Bonaparte, and that if Murat is not confirmed in his Neapolitan Crown he is to reconcile himself to Bonaparte and to try to make him Emperor of Italy. Meanwhile Holland writes Tierney word from Florence that Bonaparte has just made a treaty with Tunis, by which he gives them free access to Elba, to the great surprise and alarm of the neighbouring coasts; nobody pretends to guess the object of this; he is far exceeding his means in the magnificent display of imperial splendour at Elba; so that if he is not soon supplied he will be in the list of bankrupts in the *Elba Gazette*.

"The Prince is still in all the fever of his vengeance upon his officers of the 10th. Lord G[eorge] Lenox has refused to exchange into the 10th as was proposed to him."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1814, December. Cleveland Square.—"I am just told by one who pretends to have good information that news came last night of a very hostile description that the Emperor of Russia had given in a note to say that as he did not agree with the sentiments that were likely to prevail in the Congress respecting Poland, he must take such steps as appeared to him best suited to the interests of that country and of Russia; and it is added that he has sent forward Constantine to Warsaw to prepare a request to him, Alexander, from the Poles that he would be their King.

"Prussia is said hitherto to have shewn a disposition to support Austria, but upon the present occasion professes such strong personal obligations to Alexander as make it impossible for him not to concur in Alexander's wishes. France is said to be inclined under these circumstances to renew her pretensions to Belgium, and Soult is said to be named *Secrétaire pour le département de la Guerre*, and Suchet to command in Alsace. If half a quarter of this is true, America will make no peace with us, but will see out the result of the Continental Congress.

"Rumours are very thick of the P[rince]'s dissatisfaction with his Ministers and Yarmouth loud in the abuse of them."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1814, December.—“My Scotch business retards me a day longer than I looked for, but you may depend upon me on Thursday. The Ephesian matron, Mrs. Perceval, takes to her sorrowing arms a very handsome young fellow, and starts again for fourteen little ones. Old Blue (Lord Coleraine) is dead and has left 8 or 10,000*l.* to his nephew Vansittart, a cousin of the Ch[ancellor] of Exchequer. Of public news I hear none. Lord Camden tells me D[uke of] Wellington quits Paris soon and gives up his embassy; he is playing the fool sadly with Grassini.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1814, December 28. Stowe.—“Arriving here the night before last to a table of twenty-six people, you will easily believe that I have not been able to draw down Lord B[uckingham] to any discussion about his son, and it is only by your letter this morning that I learn his decision, which indeed I learn with very great regret.

“In my own opinion the very best arrangement for Temple would be immediate Oxford, and the very worst a six months’ residence in France and Swisserland as preparatory to Oxford; to a father of forty years old however little can be added, after all that has been already said. Hodson arrived here to make the twenty-sixth last night, and therefore I suppose Lord B[uckingham] will find a moment to say to him whatever he has determined to say. I am a little out of heart upon the subject, because with all my preference of Oriel or of Christ Church to Brasenose, I had infinitely rather that he went to Brasenose now, than that Oxford should be so long postponed. If I can, I will make one more effort to see if I can persuade him to enter his son now either at Oriel, Christ Church, or Brasenose, telling Lord B[uckingham] that he may then have his son with him for the long vacation in France or Swisserland, if he thinks that an advantageous residence for him. I will try this, but I do not feel any confidence of success. With respect to the attorney’s Cornish letter, I am sorry it was written and still more sorry that it has vexed you. If I had received a similar letter it would not either have surprised or vexed me, because I know Lord B[uckingham] well enough to be quite sure that there is nothing in it but that fatal indolence which so often leads him to put all concerns of business, and every detail that is troublesome to him, into the hands of any man who will sell to him his time and trouble for that purpose; and of nothing do I feel more sure than that he has not at this moment the slightest suspicion that he has been in the smallest degree wanting to you in regard and attention, by letting his attorney write to you instead of himself, upon the

Cornish sale. His own very unfortunate education has very much contributed to increase instead of correcting the faults which have hung upon his manner and behaviour, and he has never learnt and never will learn those little courtesies and attentions of life which contribute so much to smooth the road of it; but he trespasses upon them without the smallest consciousness of his doing so, and while you are vexed at receiving his attorney's letter, he means nothing but kindness to you, and indulgence to his own indolence."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1814, December 30. Stowe.—"Sir R[obert] Wilson has shewn me a narrative of King Murat's conduct and claims on the English Government, of acknowledgment and support, in which he makes out a very strong case for himself, and furnishes proofs of very shuffling conduct on our part. He will send it me in a fortnight to shew it to you.

"Lord B[uckingham] has also the Austrian account (of Nugent) which accuses Murat of being in concert with the Viceroy at one time. I should not wonder if it were true, for if he could not depend upon us and on Austria, he was wise not to leave himself without hope or resource."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1815, January 1. Althorp.—"I think the letter which you describe from Cleveland Square, if it stood by itself, unaccompanied by any other circumstances, would not appear to me to warrant the interpretation that you give to it as an evidence of an entire change of politics in the writer, especially considering the extraordinary disinclination of the writer to the use of words, though he is perfectly acquainted with their value; in this view of the subject too I should still further observe that if the writer meant to announce any change of his politics, he would probably have stated a difference of opinion, and not an absence from Parliament, as his reason for returning the proxy. It might be still further observed that his intention last Spring had announced an immediate journey to Switzerland and Italy which was to last a twelvemonth, and which, as I was told, was deferred till this next Spring, in order to ensure Lord Gower's election upon his uncle's peerage. In the same sense too I should state my opinion that a step as decided as that which you consider this to be, would scarcely be taken, considering the long and intimate familiarity in which I have lived in that house, without some intimation at least, even if it did not take the shape of explanation; whereas in fact nothing has ever passed from which in conversation I could infer the intention which you describe; although undoubtedly I have seen increased

symptoms of dissatisfaction at the supposed increasing influence of those whom he dislikes in the party, and although he certainly felt hurt last year at your refusing to dine with him, and much discontented at the measure of Norway having been pursued by many of the Opposition without any regard to the very many who disapproved that course of opposition, upon which his opinions were stronger than anybody's. I repeat therefore, that the bare fact of the letter that you describe would, if standing alone, have appeared to me to be explained by these comments, and by them would seem to be rescued from the wider and broader sense which you have given to it.

“ But when you quote a dinner to Lord Liverpool (of which I had never heard), an entire absence from the House of Lords, of which I knew nothing ; when I hear on all sides that on Duke Wellington's return he is expected to replace the Duke, and when I see no endeavour made by him to contradict the many reports of this sort with which the newspapers have abounded, I confess to you the confidence with which I should otherwise have urged the former part of this letter is a good deal shaken and diminished. Whatever influence he has allowed to my opinions and communications with him, great as it has been for several years, it has been voluntary on his part, and without any claim on mine. I have no right therefore to demand any explanation, whatever be his object, if indeed he has any that is fixed and determined.

“ What I expected was that, from his seeing you less prominent and less likely to take official lead if change should occur, his original objections to many of our party would recur in greater force, and would deter him from giving that active support or taking the same active part that he would have continued to take as long as there was a reasonable hope of his seeing you again at the head of the Government ; and if the change of his course were limited to this, I, who know how strongly he relied upon our wing of the army, should regret as I do the sacrifice which your health demands, and should consider the consequent inactivity of my neighbour as a part of the same sacrifice equally decorous and consistent. But if he takes office abroad, or actively connects himself at home with the same Government which he has so long systematically opposed, though with no personal right to complain of it as from him to me, I shall be most unaffectedly sorry for it, both individually and as a public man. I shall be personally sorry that any man with whom I have lived in intimacy and whose mind I have always thought and still think to be governed by liberal and honourable feelings, should at least expose himself and his conduct to question, if not to censure ; and as a public man I shall think it a great subject of regret, if any event of this description should take such a shape as to encourage and incite the base

and unworthy disposition of the public mind, to ascribe to the aristocracy and gentry of the country the meanest and most interested motives for their public conduct and opinions. I will therefore still hope that the letter which you have received shall fall more within the former than the latter comments on which I have dwelt, and I have no doubt but that upon reflection you will be confirmed in your intention of stating this, whenever you mention it, as of no wider or broader purport than belongs to the words that are written. T[ierney] met me at Middleton and has come hither with me from Stowe. I find him very deeply impressed with the persuasion that if a proper understanding could be promoted, and proper communication had, and previous discussion taken a fortnight before the meeting, it would be scarcely possible for the Government to maintain itself in Parliament. He is moreover personally disposed himself to promote and to assist this to the utmost if it can be rendered practicable, and he is on the whole more actively disposed and more confident than I think I have ever seen him ; his constant remark being that he can demonstrate that there are sufficient materials 'to do the job' if there can be found but good will and good understanding enough amongst what he calls 'ourselves.' I shall urge him to call at Dropmore on his return as this subject is more easily talked over than written on. I believe I share in his opinion as to the means existing, though I have less confidence as to the concert and concurrence."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1815, January 8. Althorp.—"Your letter shews me that you have understood what I said respecting the conveyance of the proxy to you, as expressing much more of confidence and much less of doubt on that subject than what I really feel : the utmost that my letter was intended to convey only amounted to saying that the single circumstance of the proxy, if single, was susceptible of explanation ; and as long as any doubt can be said to remain it seems desirable not too finally to anticipate a result which I should much regret ; but in truth I see so many other grounds of doubt that I incline to your interpretation, though I wish not to accede to it, till it is forced upon me beyond a doubt.

I do not think Tierney's most sanguine hopes are ever very sanguine, and certainly I agree with you in opinion that the present circumstances do not warrant the promising colours under which he sees them ; but he is capable of rendering great service, as I think, upon the important topic of public economy, and to render him serviceable he must be patted on the back and encouraged, and that I hope you will do. You can never conceive me to entertain the notion of promoting

renewal of cordial co-operation where I have uniformly regretted that any semblance of it had existed, and where my sentiments of what is personally due to you are certainly much more lively and keen than those which you feel yourself. I had hoped to have carried Elliot with me to Stowe on the 12th and afterwards to Dropmore, but he is summoned to town by Lord Malmsbury's expected death, and therefore will return and meet me at Dropmore on the 21st. I will come sooner if the Stowe party admits of my doing so. I go there on the 12th."

THOMAS GRENVILLE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1815, May 15. Cleveland Square.—“Our poor old friend the Bishop of St. Asaph died this morning, after an illness of four or five days which Latham from the first thought would end fatally.

“Yesterday morning also died after three days' illness poor Garlike, who was in this chair five days ago in perfect health and spirits! Is this Spring more mortal than others, or is it because it is my 60th Spring that my friends and acquaintance drop so fast on all sides of me? The poor Archbishop of York, whose favourite daughter is just dead, goes to Richmond to Lord Stafford's after the funeral, and from thence to Yorkshire.

“I have little good news to help to counterbalance this black scroll of mortality. I suppose you will be brought up to the message on Thursday and Friday in the House of Lords; for Castlereagh told Stair yesterday that they have received an official account that the Treaty *is* ratified, and is on its road so that he expected it hourly; he added that Austria had never for a moment relaxed from the most cordial and vigorous co-operation, though Bonaparte had circulated contrary reports in this country. Hospitals for 1,000 men were ordered on Friday to be instantly prepared at Colchester and Yarmouth, which looks like the expectation of battle in Flanders.

“Sir R[obert] Wilson is running about with the report of a new declaration of Alexander, announcing his readiness to give up the Bourbons, if France will take any sovereign except Bonaparte; and he adds as a comment, that Alexander secretly recommends to France to *take Bernadotte and to leave Sweden to Russia*.

“Austria on the other hand is reported to insist upon the *King of Rome* being excluded from the throne of France as well as his father, but this does not sound probable in my ears.

“Lord Althorp is to take up the question of the mis-application of the 100,000*l.* to the Prince Regent; but I do not expect any effect to be produced by this question. The two chiefs Liverpool and Castlereagh are both said to look very much out of spirits, and Chilvers tells Lady S. that Liverpool is quite ill with no other illness than constant fretting.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1815, May 16. Cleveland Square.—“Lord Apsley, who came four or five days ago from Duke Wellington, said to a friend of mine that the Duke shewed him his returns the day before he left him, by which his whole force just turned 60,000, of which 16,700 were British infantry, and British cavalry 4,600. By what I hear I suspect that the Prince of Orange’s management and apprehension of his new Belgic subjects, and his fear of offending them, leads him to receive many into his ranks who are known to wish well to the French Emperor. This weakness and timidity does not look like a descendant of William 3rd.

“I am assured that Duke Wellington reckons the whole French army in France 220,000, of which he supposes 80,000 employed in garrisons, and 140,000 remaining for the field; but if the *Moniteur* is correct in stating that the garrison duty is entirely done by the National Guards, I suppose nearly the whole 220,000 will be in the field. Lord Apsley is going back to Duke Wellington, and announces that he is to be upon *the Staff* but without any military commission! What can the military secretary and his civil son mean to make out of this?”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1815, May 17. Cleveland Square.—“I have heard nothing more of foreign news since I wrote; but I have reason to think that Alexander’s project is to propose to France the same regency for the little King of Rome that Alexander himself was said to be inclined to at the capture of Paris; and I am assured that it is true that Austria most strenuously insists upon the exclusion of the son, as well as upon that of the father. Castlereagh has satisfied Elliot that the delay of the Treaty has been entirely free of any hesitation at Vienna, but he quite forgets how this was made out to his satisfaction.

“The principle of the Catholic question is too strongly founded to be abandoned from the folly or wickedness of many of its supporters, but though they cannot make right wrong, they have perfectly succeeded in rendering that measure unattainable, without which I sincerely believe the peace and security of Ireland can never be obtained.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1815, June 5. Cleveland Square.—“The tardiness of the King’s Exchequer has kept me, though reluctantly, in London. I am told the warrants are now preparing, but as some days may still intervene, I think I shall wait for Mr. Vansittart at Dropmore instead of Cleveland Square, and therefore hope to be with you to-morrow upon the heels of this letter. I am the more confirmed in this project by the wish of stating to

you by word of mouth something more upon the same subject on which three weeks ago I advised Charles to drive down his gig to have some talk with you. Ministers are said to have no official confirmation of Paris being in the hand of our allies, except that from two or three different quarters they hear the same account of a firing of cannon having been heard suddenly to stop near Paris, in the manner quoted from the *Brighton Herald*. Meerfeldt died early this morning of an inflammation in the bowels which had only confined him one day. Stahremberg is talked of to succeed him; yet how can he come here without paying his debts, which he is said to dislike extremely though his means are called very great? I hope you admire the posthumous wisdom of the Lord Chancellor who, after putting the Great Seal to the King's licence for the Duke to marry abroad, finds out that it is no valid marriage unless it be celebrated here; as the Duke can obtain no portion for his bride, perhaps he may adopt the Chancellor's law, and return his virtuous mistress to her royal friends at Berlin. The Queen and the Prince Regent are said to be warmly divided on this interesting subject."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1815, [June. Cleveland Square.]—"I enclose to you a letter of renewed request from Sir H[enry] Englefield on the subject of a degree at Oxford. I have told him that I was well assured he would have your best wishes, but that I did not know how far it was consistent with your situation to offer any recommendation, neither could I judge how far the Catholic fever might be found active in the present moment upon such an occasion; but I added that I would write to you; so perhaps you will let me have an answer to send him. I suppose by what Sir H[enry] says of Dr. Wall it may be thought to be a practicable measure."

Enclosing :

SIR H[ENRY] ENGLEFIELD to THOMAS GRENVILLE.

"You may remember that I spoke to you some time ago about a wish that I had to receive the honour of a doctor's degree at Oxford. My friend Dr. Wall has very kindly promised to speak of it among his friends, but as it is my wish to shew every respect to your brother, as well as to have the honour of his patronage, I will request you to have the kindness to speak to Lord Grenville on the subject and also to tell me whether it would be proper for me to address him personally or by letter; as I am equally desirous to shew him very much of the respect I feel, and not to be troublesome or intrusive. I know not how far your own interest may go, but I presume to request it on this occasion, as I really feel very

desirous of the honour of belonging, however unworthy, to that most respectable body."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1815, [June. Cleveland Square.]—"I return you Hodgson's letter which does not promise well to Sir Henry's wishes; having taught himself to desire this, he will be vexed at the disappointment, which his friend Wall should not have exposed himself and his friend to. They made a great party peace dinner at Brooks's yesterday, at which Essex assisted, and looked ashamed of having done so."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1815, July 1. Cleveland Square.—"Otto's application for passports from Boulogne was very properly refused here, upon the ground of the Allied Courts declining any separate negotiation. Another application arrived yesterday forwarded by Beugnet, the Minister *ad interim* for Foreign Affairs; it was direct from Bonaparte, saying that he thought it would best suit all parties that he and his brothers should go to America, and therefore he desired English passports to pursue this course in safety. The passports were refused upon the same ground, viz. that no such measure could be taken by England without the concurrence of all the Allied Courts. Castlereagh embarked this morning and was near drowned by missing his step in the boat; salt water is always hostile to him as well at Margate as at Catalani's in Marybone. An Austrian messenger is just come. 170,000 Russians and Austrians have crossed the Rhine; the Russians will be at Nancy to-morrow. I believe I was always right in suspecting the Austrians to be working for a Regency. They are poor little people indeed."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1815, July 3. Cleveland Square.—"Government think B[onaparte] will try to smuggle himself off into America, probably among the revolutionists of the South.

"That dull statesman B[ragge] Bathurst just now told me that they have this day received the most satisfactory assurances from the two Emperors, of their determined refusal to treat with B[onaparte] or any of his friends, or to hear of any plan of Regency; he added that the Allies have the most cordial agreement on this subject and specifically spoke of Austria as agreeing entirely with us. This is better news than the taking of Peronne.

"But I believe the Bourbons are justly alarmed at the appearances of so much disinclination to them at Paris.

"Duchesse d'Angoulesme goes to-morrow by sea to

Bordeaux to endeavour to renew the eager professions that she met with before.

“Duke Wellington expects no resistance to Blucher and him at Paris.

“The *Gazette* return is out; it is a fearful list, but it is less terrible to print it than to withhold it. Holland and Allen have been serawling out Italian constitutions for Murat and for all Italy which have been interecepted by the Austrians!!!”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1815, August 20. Wynnstay.—“I am just returned here from Bala, and continue a little undecided as to my Devonshire progress, for the first time of my life beginning to count the miles which used to be entirely set aside as unworthy of my notice. I shall go for two or three days at the end of the month to see Henry in his new house, and am half inclined after that to turn towards Dropmore. If I recollect right I was invited to meet you at White Knights on the 4th September, and if the Oxfordshire election has not annulled that project, I could very easily meet you at White Knights on the 4th. Pray let me have a line by return of post to tell me of your motions and projects. The Lansdowns will be returned home by the end of September, and perhaps you may be disposed to go there with me about that time; but my more immediate question is whether you keep your engagement at White Knights for the 4th and whether after that you shall be at Dropmore.

“I heard from Lord Fitzwilliam three days ago and I find Lady Grey is still with him, being still too unwell to pursue her journey home. Lord Fitzwilliam is as much dissatisfied as I am with all that has *not* been done in France; a letter of yesterday told me that Lord Stewart has written to his sister, Lady O[etavia] Law, to stop her journey to Paris, from his conviction that great movements and tumults are about to happen there.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1815, August 27. Wynnstay.—“As soon as I had received your letter I wrote to Lord Blandford to say that I would be at White Knights on the 4th. Lord B[landford] tells me he will do all he can for Lord Sunderland, and I quite agree with you that there are very many motives which ought to make him wish for the success of the Blenheim family in Oxfordshire. The prevailing opinions of the present days are very unfavourable to the influence of large landed proprietors, and the success of them in Oxfordshire would probably be soon found to pass the limits of that county; added to this view of the subject I really feel no small indignation at seeing the second son of that family plundering the family inheritance and earving

out of it a subordinate peerage and estate for himself, while he seems to have abandoned all concern for the county seat, which he derived from that family, and which he gives them back in a condition hardly promising enough to invite them to try to renew the tenure of it. All this has in it so much of *self* and so little of what is generous or praiseworthy, that upon this consideration alone I should be an eager Sunderland and a very decided *anti-Churchill*.

“I heartily hope that Mackintosh’s report of the Allies taking permanent possession of several of the frontier fortresses of France is well-founded. The magnanimous folly of Alexander and all his royal coadjutors last year in leaving to France the same means of disturbing all her neighbours, and the elements of all the same wicked mischiefs which had desolated all Europe for twenty years, one would think had been followed by sufficient experience to prevent a renewal of the same childish infatuation after the second providential escape which the Allies have had in this campaign ; but I know not how to look for any of the results of prudence and foresight among Ministers so singularly deficient in those qualities ; if military contests always make great soldiers and generals, how comes it that the important political contests which have equally prevailed should have furnished no statesmen of any large views or even of any moderate reputation for ability among the many who have been seen in the important congresses of modern times ? With the exception of Talleyrand, whose celebrity too is perhaps a good deal mixed with that of his imperial master, there is not a man among them who has any degree of reputation for ability, either English, Prussian, Russian or Austrian.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1815, August 28. Wynnstay.—“You will be very sorry to hear that an express is just arrived here with the melancholy account of poor Mrs. Stapleton’s having died suddenly this morning at Lady Cotton’s at Audlem. Her two sisters supped with her last night, and she went to bed without the smallest degree of complaint ; at five this morning she got out of bed and went upstairs to call Lady Cotton’s maid, saying she was ill and must be blooded ; but before six she had breathed her last. We have lost in her the last remaining friend of our early infancy ; but for herself a happier death could not have happened to her, for after eighty-three cheerful years, her life has ended without any of the pains and infirmities which usually attend the decay of our mortal existence, and with a consciousness of approaching death that could not have been prolonged as much as one hour ; a much happier fate certainly than belongs to the generality of the human race.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1815, September 10. Trentham.—“I found in poor Mrs. Stapleton’s will the nomination, as was supposed, of Lord Glastonbury and myself to be her executors. Lord Glastonbury, upon the first intimation of it, declined to act upon the plea of his unfitness for business in his advanced age. I had been told that both the West India estate and that of Bodrydden having been settled at Charlotte’s marriage to Shipley, there would be nothing for the executor to do but to superintend the very limited personality, and the distribution of a few legacies; in this expectation I went to look for the will, which we found at Woore together with a codicil of legacies of little remembrances to yourself, to my sisters, the Taylors, Pringles, etc.; but I found likewise a very voluminous will which gives the whole direction and management of the West India estate till it can be advantageously sold, to Lord Glastonbury and me in trust for the payment of debts and then in trust for Mr. W[illiam] Cotton and Lord Combermere’s son. This would have been to have taken upon myself the whole complicated direction of a concern of which I am as ignorant as of the Persian language, for the benefit of Mr. W. Cotton, nephew to Mrs. Stapleton, an active young clergyman of 30 years of age, and Lord Combermere her other nephew; both these persons fully competent to the management of their own estate, and much better acquainted with the whole concern than I could ever hope to be.

“The West India estate being also the only fund left for the payment of debts, funeral charges, etc., the executor could not stir a step without a thorough knowledge of the state and condition present and future of that very complicated concern. As I never had the slightest knowledge of any West India property, as I should not know how to judge whether the plantations were well or ill managed, nor whether the produce was beneficially sold here, nor whether the accounts of the agents at Nevis and St. Kitts and of the merchant in London were properly kept or improperly, and as I should not have the smallest idea how to dispose of it to the best advantage of those who are to inherit it; moreover as those persons are Mr. Cotton for himself and Lord Combermere for his son; under all these circumstances I felt it quite impossible (even with my very earnest desire to accomplish Mrs. Stapleton’s wishes) to execute them in the precise manner directed by the will. But in declining to execute this trust for which I feel myself to be so entirely incapable, I have persuaded Mr. W. Cotton to take out letters of administration instead of my doing so, which will give him the direction and management of that estate of which he and his brother Lord Combermere are to have the benefit. By this arrangement, which is approved of by Mr. Cotton, by his attorney, and by

Charles, who was with me, my poor old friend's will and dispositions will be carried into effect by her own nephew, who will himself direct and control the only fund that is left disposable according to his own view of what [is] most for his own interest ; he being also residuary legatee. Having thus provided as I hope and believe in the best manner that I could devise for giving effect to my poor friend's dispositions, in the way that will be most beneficial to those whom she wished to assist, I arrived here yesterday evening and shall pursue my journey the day after to-morrow towards Dropmore, where I hope to arrive by four on Tuesday the 12th. I should have added that you will be glad to hear the last year's produce of poor Mrs. Stapleton's West India estate exceeded 7,000*l.* and enabled her thus to pay 6,000*l.* of debt to Sir P[eter] Warburton."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1815, December 8. Cleveland Square.—"I return you your letter, which I think with you contains as little as it could, though a few words from so great a hero must have their value. Tierney always full of ups and downs is now *up* very high, confidently hoping for a division of 110 against the peace and announcing Lord Grey's arrival a week before the meeting ; but he describes himself and all of his friends as so strongly anti-Bourbon, and so much impressed with the necessity of recurring to the alledged causes of the war, and to the inconsistency of the Allies first declaring only against Bonaparte and then declaring for an eternal army and war to support the Bourbons, that I am afraid he will not find it quite so easy to unite his 110 members. I told him very fairly that I thought nothing could be more feeble and shifting than the conduct of our Ministers both in their war declarations and in their peace negotiations ; but that my own belief was that there was no chance of any impression from united opposition unless they confined themselves to the only question which the country now cares about, viz. whether after complete success in the war, we have obtained that peace and security which was the object of the war ; and I assured him that in my mind this is so rich a topic as to furnish ample food for discussion, as well as probable agreement in it. Lord Fitz— supports Captain Proby, who is therefore considered sure of success. Lord P— is much the same. The P[rince] is to have the Q[ueen] at Brighton. If snows do not bar my way I go to Lillies for a day with George and shall be at Althorp on Tuesday. Tierney half talks of meeting me at Althorp and returning by Middleton and Dropmore, but I don't think he will leave London. He does not believe in Baring's loan being ever in discussion, but hears some Dutch offer has been made to France which they refuse at Paris."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1815, December 14. Cleveland Square.—“I enclose to you a letter just received from Avington, which looks as well as the present circumstances will admit. Deep regret and contrition are the first signs of a returning sense of duty. I have written to urge Lord B[uckingham] again and again to go with him as far as Paris, and (*if he is sure he is not followed*) to stay there three or four days with his son, in the hope that the novelty of that scene may a little relieve both their minds, and enable T[emple] to continue his progress cheerfully; whereas if he T[emple] goes abroad low and desponding, it may so affect his cheerfulness [as to indispose him with the journey, and destroy the hopes of its diverting his mind from the scenes he has been plunged into.

“I think it would be kind and useful if you would write a few lines of encouragement and advice to Lord B[uckingham], for you will see he is terribly low, and if he gives way, after all the unpleasant consequences of the duel, his retirement will be ascribed by his enemies to what *regards himself only*. Lady B[uckingham] wrote a week ago to beg me to tell you all that had passed, which you know I had already done. Do therefore write to Lord B[uckingham] and try to encourage and console him, and lead him to feel the absolute necessity of his mixing in the world, and being seen in London, instead of being missed from it.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1815, December 15. Althorp.—“I return you your Oxford letter and am quite astounded to see the editor of Dugdale and the Librarian of Oxford announce leisure hours enough to have sufficient to spare for Kennett; but if he will undertake it I suppose you will not do better. I think your next step might be to propose to Aubrey and Lord Jersey to give their subscription of 25*l.* each for a Large Paper copy, and then the other 150 might be made up by 50*l.* from you and I and Lord B[uckingham] for two copies each; only ten I think should be printed, eight as above and two more between the Bodleian and Museum. Lord Jersey and Aubrey might be told that if they thought it desirable any plates that they *would give* of Middleton and Borstall would be added to the work.

“I find Lord S[pencer] and Vernon and Lamb all expressing different degrees of surprise and dissatisfaction at the language they have heard from Lord Holland at Woburn of wishing to see Louis XVIII hanged for the murder of Ney, of determining to bring forward a question of how far this country had broken the faith of her own original declaration against Bonaparte, by pledging themselves to the cause of the Bourbons and of legitimate succession, and such like conversation so

violent that Lord S[pencer] told me he was obliged to express his dissent with some warmth. Lord Holland it seems had received a letter from Madame Ney, in consequence of which he had gone up to town to claim of Lord Liverpool the interference of England, bound by her convention to save the life of Ney. In short it is quite lamentable to hear of him only with Flahault and Sebastiani and Murat's secretary, and corresponding upon such subjects with the *unchanged* refuse of the revolution. Vernon tells me he was told by Huskisson that Baring had offered the loan to France upon condition that the four Allied Courts should guarantee to the lenders the punctual payment of the loan, which condition being quite out of the question, the proposal was altogether abandoned."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1815, December 26. Althorp.—“ Since I last wrote to you, I am sorry to have heard from unquestionable authority that Horner is one of the loudest in the funeral chorus of Ney, and one of those who are the most eager for making this a matter of parliamentary discussion. I certainly think the Treaty of Paris was a most bungling and wretched State Paper which left both Louis XVIII and the Allies in their separate capacities and in their political relations without any sufficient security for themselves, and without any security, sufficiently defined, to protect such persons as Ney from any legal process which Louis XVIII might institute against him; perhaps too I think that in a case of any doubtful interpretation of a treaty, a principle of humanity ought to govern it, and further I may think the operation of that principle in this case was still more desirable, from the blunders and delays in the proceeding which prevented any public benefit being had in the execution of Ney. But then on the other hand to see a general array in this country of all those who were notorious for their good wishes to Bonaparte endeavouring to excite a public interest here in favour of him and of all his followers; to hear of nothing but the admiration which is expressed at Woburn and Holland House of Flahault and Sebastiani, and to hear Lord Holland quoted as wishing to avenge the murder of Murat and of Ney, and to find that such topics are likely to have the support of such a man as Horner, creates in me such unconquerable disgust as leaves to me no more earnest wish than that of shewing how widely I differ from any party that is governed by such sentiments. Colonel Ponsonby, who is one of the mildest and best-tempered men I ever saw, said yesterday that he could hardly sit in his chair at Woburn with any patience to see the avidity and credulity with which all the company there were greedily swallowing from Flahault and Sebastiani all the French commonplace abuse of the English army and of its officers.

"I have just seen a *private* letter from Admiral Hallowell at Cork in which he gives a dreadful account of the state of Ireland, which he says is all but in a state of actual rebellion. No arms have been surrendered except by the Protestants; no Catholic magistrates would subscribe to the reward offered for the murderer of Mr. Baker; and there are traces of a secret system of co-operation among the disaffected which looks like the renewal of the former organisation. Yet I suppose in this state of France they will not rise."

THOMAS GRENVILLE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1816, January 1. Althorp.—"I rejoice to see how entirely our opinions agree upon the subject of Ney, and upon the necessity of resisting the violent language and still more the measures which are likely to be discussed upon this question. The great and chief inconvenience which belongs to the extreme eagerness of Lord B[uckingham's] sentiments on this matter is that it will produce a stronger collision with H[orner] than may be found consistent with his continuing to hold his present seat; for though I am grieved and disappointed at his sharing in these French opinions, I should not only regret the loss that Lord B[uckingham] would have in his talents, but I should also think it a great disadvantage to Lord B[uckingham] to have it reported, as it would be, that he had turned out of Parliament a man of weight and consideration because he would not give up his opinions implicitly to those of Lord B[uckingham]. I know that a continued difference of opinion must ultimately produce such a separation, but my advice to Lord B[uckingham] would be to make that entirely the act of H[orner] and not his own. The contrast that you describe between the execution of Caraccioli and that of Ney is quite an unanswerable proof that it is neither humanity nor justice nor the law of nations that excites the present clamours in the case of Ney, for all these motives were still more deeply wounded in the other case by the actual order for execution having been given by a British officer, and yet scarce a word has ever been heard upon that truly lamentable and disgraceful subject; it is plain therefore that the present clamour belongs entirely to the jaundiced eye with which all those who opposed the war now look at the successful result of it. The indulgence of such a peevish spleen in direct opposition to the interests, the feeling and the character of the country is to me so disgusting that I have no toleration for it, and do not wish to teach myself any. Vernon has just left us; he is out of spirits and bears about with him the evident consciousness of a distrust of all that he is doing and saying, which appears to me to be of the bad school of Ward, with whom he is in constant intercourse and correspondence; he announces a foreign tour as soon as his wife is brought to bed.

“Do what you like about Kennet, and you will have my entire concurrence ; as far as such a thing can signify, I own I think that if we make it in any degree a family-book, I am aristoeratical enough to wish to have a few splendid copies, and I am quite ready and desirous to contribute anything not exceeding 100*l.* to this effect ; a similar contribution from Stowe and Dropmore would make it quite unnecessary to write to Middleton or Borstal and would supply us with *ten copies* *L[arge] P[aper]*, one of which we might give to [the] Bodleian, and each of us have three for self and friends. But I can easily imagine Stowe and Dropmore have better employments for 100*l.*, so do whatever you like best.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1816, January 5. Althorp.—“Leach has agreed to go with me to Middleton on Tuesday, and to go on with me to Dropmore on Friday the 12th.

“Rogers will meet us at Middleton, and as he is a clever man I have ventured to say that I am sure you would be glad if I could persuade him to stop at Dropmore in his way towards town with us ; if you wish me to press this I will do so, but if you are full or feel shy of the poet, let me have a line, and I can easily say that your Christmas party overflows. Leach can only stay Friday with you, being engaged to Cashiobury on Saturday.

“Tierney is expected here to-morrow from Middleton ; I suppose he will go on from hence to Woburn as the Hollands go there on Sunday.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1816, January 7. Althorp.—“Rogers writes to me from Woburn that he will meet me at Middleton on Tuesday, and that he desires nothing better than to be introduced to you at Dropmore on Wednesday if I will take charge of him. I mentioned this project to you in my last, in order that I might learn your wishes upon it before I gave him any final answer, but unluckily I must now answer him before I hear from you. I am inclined to encourage him to go to Dropmore on Wednesday by my answer of to-day, and as I hope to receive a line from you by the post of Tuesday before I leave Althorp, if I should find you are disinclined to have him, I can tell him at Middleton that your party now overflows, and that I hope for some better opportunity. Indeed a line from you by the post of Tuesday to the *Star Inn* at *Oxford* will catch me early enough on my journey of Wednesday to put him off then, if your house is full. Princess Charlotte is to marry Saxe Cobourg, who at least will not embarrass his wife with his Continental possessions.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1816, January 27. Cleveland Square.—“I have only time to write you a short line to say that Tierney tells me his project of amendment was only from finding Romilly and others quite determined on some division, and therefore he had been anxious to find some topic for division on which we could best agree. I told him my doubt was whether any amendment could be framed that would not give a stronger appearance of resistance to the general topics of the address than our friends would or could concur in, and that my firm persuasion was that the country expected to find all parties unanimous in their congratulations upon the success of our arms, which would be considered as the main business of the first day, and I added that if such unanimity could be had, I saw no objection to a notice on that day for the earliest agitation of the question of the prorogation of Parliament. T[ierney], however, seems to think that a division will be had, and therefore I hope our friends will vote against the amendment; and I was glad to hear from T[ierney] that he had a letter from Lord Milton, who wrote that he could scarce conceive any amendment could be drawn in which he could concur, as he thought any possible amendment would shew more appearance of hostility to the general topics of the address than he could concur in. I saw Grenfell at Cashiobury and found him quite *with us*, and very anxious that *you* should speak out your opinions on the first day; and I am convinced from all I hear and see that this business of Wilson’s is generally execrated throughout the country. Grenfell and Leach and Lord Cowper all reprobated it, and even Brougham who was at Panshanger admitted that it was to be *deplored*. Lord G[rey] has sent to Tierney three letters to himself from Wilson since Lavallette’s escape from prison, in which W[ilson] says he has no knowledge where he is, but is rejoiced at his escape. It appears that Hutchison was the lover of Lavallette’s sister, and that she being unable to get her brother safe out of Paris obtained through Hutchison the help of Bruce and Wilson.

“Lord B[uckingham] is not come nor do they know when he will. Lauderdale is with Grey who has just had another bad attack.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1816, April 20. Cleveland Square.—“I am impatient to know something of your projects for town and country. I am so much interested in your success as to the Pall Mall negotiation that I desire nothing so much as to hear of its being happily completed, of which you yourself seemed to have confident hopes. I have passed four days at Wimbledon of which only the two last had anything of a Spring aspect; but the weather seems now to promise so well that if you make any stay at

Dropmore, I shall be tempted to come down and see how the young grass pushes out through the baked clay. Your Lords and Commons will, I suppose, speedily leave you for the delights of Palace Yard, and thus make good room for me if the weather and you continue long enough to invite me.

"Here is Mr. Bennett to marry Miss Russell ; her two uncles from Woburn and Middleton give her 200*l. per annum* each, and Lord Tankerville gives his son 1,500*l.* This makes so awkward an annuity of 1,900, that another hundred should be raised by subscription to make the genteel and round sum of 2,000*l.* a year.

"Everybody knows that the royal marriage is again deferred and nobody knows why it is deferred. There are new whispers of a divorce on foreign evidence. Does the father mean to take a new wife when he gives his daughter a new husband ? "

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1816, May 24. Cleveland Square.—"As you seemed to think the Duke of Leeds's was a house of some temptation, I write one line to say that Lady Spencer has just told me that she knows that though they asked 20,000*l.* for it last year, they will now take 12,000*l.*, which is thought very cheap.

"The new-married pair are in treaty with Lord Abercorn to give them 1,200*l. per annum* for Camelford House, and they say they must sit down by the loss of the other 1,300*l.*

"I hear it is the fashion in the Court circles to abuse you for having taken a higher rent than you had asked ; but what is very delectable is that Lord Germain (Elliot) is quoted to me for having said at a large dinner party that you had given a pretty specimen of your love of political and public economy by having led the young Prince and Princess into so extravagant a bargain.

"Lady G[renville] has her share too, for another version from the Court is, that she got *her friend* Lady Bathurst to patch up this extravagant agreement.

"The Prince and Princess are going to take what was Lord Somers's in Cavendish Square. She says they now pay 1,500 *per annum* for stables in Oxford Road and servants' lodgings, so that their whole rent is 4,000*l. per annum.*"

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1816, [June-July]. Cleveland Square.—"Lord Sefton has signed a paper which I enclose a copy of, and Sir G—— N—— having strongly recommended to Lord B—— to be satisfied with it, he has accepted it. It would not have been easy for Lord B—— to have insisted on going out upon the letter of Lord S[efton] after Lord S[efton] had so strongly disclaimed any intention of reflecting upon Lord B—— honour and

character. I hope and trust, with this, the discussions of this unpleasant business will close."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1816, July 15. Cleveland Square.—"I had gone to Cashiobury before you wrote, and have returned here on business. I have a line written from Lord B[uckingham] at Stowe pressing me with so much anxiety to come there, and expressing so much uneasiness of mind, that (though it is very inconvenient to me) I have determined to sleep at Cashiobury Wednesday or Thursday, and be at Stowe on Friday. Lord E[sex] will have told you how kindly he has behaved on this subject; I trust by his opinion being so strongly pronounced against a reference, that measure will be abandoned, and I was *very very* adverse to it. I go on Friday in order to try to make Lord B[uckingham]'s mind easier; if you could contrive to go to Stowe for a day or two likewise, it would be very kind in you; and it is the more to be wished as I hear his enemies try to whisper that his family does not support him."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1816, September 9. Castle Howard.—"I stopped another day at Elton and found so good an account by Lady G[renville's] kind note on Friday morning that I proceeded here with confidence, and rejoice to find a still fuller confirmation of your well-doing under your own hand. Lord Carlisle had been shooting the morning that I arrived here, and he dined, and continued with us till 12 at night, being quite as well both in health and spirits as he was four or five years ago; nor do I see any other difference than a little fullness in one cheek and some degree of swelling about the ankles. I met Lord Holland on the road returning from Howick, and groaning over the folly and expense of the Algerian expedition, which I dislike pretty near as much as he can. I found here a letter from our Trematon friend dated 4th from London, to which place he had been called by business for a few days. He tells me *from very good authority* that the P[rince] was confined to his bed all Saturday, being unable to move without great pain in the same place where he had felt it in the former obstruction, and that when he announced his positive determination to proceed to Ragley, nothing could equal the dismay and apprehension of all about him, his countenance and appearance being quite cadaverous; his Ministers had most earnestly entreated him to come to town for the Recorder's report, and had endeavoured to deter him from his Ragley journey by telling him that Birmingham and many other towns meant to stop him on his road with petitions upon the state of the country, but nothing would stop him, and his total refusal

to do any kind of business seems to increase every hour. My correspondent adds that it is seriously in question to try to obtain his consent to some association in the Regency, as they hardly know how to go on with this determined disinclination to all business of any sort. Whether any of this be exaggerated or not I cannot tell, but with the means of information which our friend possesses, I think from his account it is evident that the P[rince] is still in a very precarious state of health and has fled to Ragley to shut himself up from business and observation; while he is there no truth will be learnt about him. The weather continues to be cold and windy and showery; here they have cut no wheat, but south of York they had begun and found the produce better than had been expected. Kind love to dear Lady G[renville]; it was very amiable in her to guard me against the uneasiness I should have felt if I had only heard vague rumours of your accident. The Surreys have stopped here last night, but were called away by the sudden and desperate illness of one of his uncles, a great chemist, and I believe the third brother to the Duke. The Spencers are expected at Bishopthorpe on Tuesday, on their return; as soon as I begin mine I too shall call at the Archbishop's."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1816, September 22. Bishopthorpe.—"I have again turned my carriage southward and see little between me and Dropmore except a visit to Worksop, and another to Vale Royal, from whence I shall probably come on to you by the first days of October, if I find by your answer that you are still at home, for I think I shall neither find sun enough nor courage enough to extend my Cheshire visit into Wales. Harriet writes me word that I shall find Lord and Lady Buckingham there and G[eorge] Neville with his wife. I left Lord Carlisle yesterday, and certainly better both in health and spirits than he was three years ago, having found there what I have long been seeking both for Castle Hill and for Dropmore—I mean the true original clove carnation, the breed of which was thought to be extinct. I am promised that eight or ten cuttings shall be sent to Cleveland Square, and I have told Imms the moment they arrive to send them to Lady Grenville at Dropmore, but you must let me have one of them for Castle Hill, and one for the sister of my friend Rogers, who was with me when I begged them at Castle Howard. If they come safe to Dropmore and take root, the family may afterwards be rich in clove carnations; three or four will come with them of a fine red sort, but not cloves.

"I find from Lady Harcourt who is here that the Prince was so ill at Ragley with menace of returning inflammation that three expresses were sent for Halford to London, Windsor and

Leicestershire : the Prince is returned to Blomfield's better, but looking extremely ill : Lady Harcourt asks with so much curiosity about the divorce that it is evident she thinks it is in question. The Queen's birthday is to be kept to help the Spitalfields weavers, but not till Parliament shall have met in February."

THOMAS GRENVILLE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1816, December 10. Cleveland Square.—"I enclose you a letter from C[astle] Hill which shews the activity of their pursuit, and the sanguine hopes they entertain of the result. I continue to think the pursuit ill-chosen and ill-timed, but if they will expose themselves to the risk and expense of the contest, they are right at least in taking the best measures in their reach for their success. My belief however is that Ackland and Bastard's friends will unite their purse and exertions, and if so I do not see what hope can be left to the third single candidate, nor what possibility there can be of his counteracting this by his finding a fourth for him to unite with.

"I have found a terrible scene here in Pall Mall. While I was writing from Dropmore earnestly recommending discretion and secrecy, Lord Buckingham had already come up to Pall Mall where I found his house full of people of all descriptions running all over the town and watching T[emple] from pillar to post, giving by the activity of this pursuit all possible publicity and notoriety to it. Nothing can equal the infatuation of the young man, or the degree of misconduct produced by it, except the vehement and ungoverned feelings of Lord Buckingham, which are quite alarming for his own health and safety, and quite ineffectual for the object which he has in view. He has however so far succeeded as to have prevailed upon T[emple] to set out with him this morning, and they are now upon their road to Avington, from whence Lord Buckingham is naturally anxious to send him abroad immediately. I wish he may go, but I cannot feel sanguine in the persuasion that he will ; the low company that he has been living in seems to have debauched his mind as well as body for the time, and there is no salvation for him but in his being torn away from these disgraceful scenes, to which however he returns almost as often as he promises to renounce them, so often that it will not at all surprise me to find that he shall again have left his own home almost as soon as he reaches it.

"I have thought it necessary to urge Lord Buckingham in conversation, and again this day by letter, in case he again elopes, by no means to pursue him, but to preserve at home the decorum due to his own character and station, in the hope that remorse and regret may awaken in the young man better feelings than are now to be found in his mind. This has

distressed me much, and I fear will distress us all still more."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1816, December 12. Cleveland Square.—"I guess by your answer that I must have more dwelt in my last upon the indiscreet precipitation of 40 than upon the excess of profligacy so fatally to be deplored in 20, and which had reached to such a pitch as seemed to have obliterated all good feelings as well as all sense of duty.

"God send that he may recover all that is lost: but there is much to do, as there has been the lamentable certainty that in latter times no promise has ever been kept for 24 hours together. I send you the letter which I have just received from Lord Buckingham, because it will best shew you all that I know upon this distressing subject. I have written in answer strongly recommending Lord Buckingham to accompany him abroad, as the best security which can be taken. If he is truly penitent all will come right, but I still live in fear of seeing renewed the scenes of last week.

"I still think things are mending in the city, where there is certainly much disposable money. But the distress in the country is very great and Morpeth tells me that Lord Granville's account of the pottery and iron works in Staffordshire and Shropshire is quite frightful. The notion is that Lord Talbot and Becket go to Ireland. Horner has left Pisa for Rome much the same as he was; he will find Brougham still there, who by his prolonged absence will quite lose himself in his profession. Kings, Coopers and Jerseys are all at Rome also."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1817, January 7. Cleveland Square.—"Yes, undoubtedly if you could separate the man from the books the character of the one would not lessen the value of the others; and generally speaking, I think you might be sure you had such books as he describes much within their value at 50*l.*, but in this case you can know nothing of the books but through the description by the owner, to whom, as it seems, no sort of credit is to be given. If the transaction were one where you could yourself examine the books previously you might do well to take the whole at so cheap a rate, but to trust to one in whom no other man will put trust seems to me to be rather a desperate enterprise. The only advice I can offer is for you to write to Payne to beg that Mr. Foss may look at the books: he goes to Paris on the 20th instant for the Macarthy sale, and if you ask him, I suppose his aversion to Payne is not so great but that he would look over the library: and if Payne means fairly, he will not object to your having his books looked at before you buy them.

"I have myself a lurking suspieion that there is roguery at the bottom, for there are and have been plenty of English booksellers purchasing at Paris, and why should not Payne have sold to them on the spot, if all was fair and right ?

"The politicians were to have met Lord Grey at Woburn the end of this week, but the measles are there and so Lord Grey will not go there. I hear he will be in town the 14th, and that he brings with him very active dispositions ; if they are confined to economy they will be better received from the impression made by the deficit stated in all the papers, which is said to have created much sensation in the city."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1817, January 10. Cleveland Square.—"I have only to tell you that I have just learnt from Tierney that Lady Grey is taken ill at Milton with the scarlet fever, which will detain her and Lord Grey there, probably for some time ; his children are arrived in town.

"Tierney says that the deficiency of the revenue has come upon the Ministers like a thunderstorm ; that they are at their wits' end, promising all retrenchments, and beginning with a reduction of 20,000 army ; but Tierney says that he is sincerely persuaded this cannot do, as he is sure that by Christmas next the revenue will not pay the interest of the debt, without any establishment. He says they are to issue Exchequer bills, for poor Van's talents go no farther.

"We have given France till March to pay the contribution now due, and they are endeavouring to negotiate a loan of 12 millions, which Tierney thinks they will indirectly get from English subjects. Coutts told me to-day he had just received an English order to buy 1,000*l.* in the French funds.

"Money is plenty here but people do not like to trust our stocks, though they are looking up, nor to lend on land."

Postscript.—"Tierney says his banker assured him to-day that money is so scarce for landed security that Sir Watkin has just given for 16,000*l.* 1,600*l.* *per annum* on his estate for three young lives !!! "

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1817, January 14. Cleveland Square.—"Having seen Tierney almost as soon as your letter, I have read to him the greatest part of it. He says there is little or no difference between you as to the arithmetical results ; he says he meant that the Consolidated Fund will not next July pay the interest of the debt with which it is charged ; for the rest, he agrees that *palliatives* are best in present, but he sees your state of the question supposes the immediate taking of the whole sinking fund, which may be wrong or right but cannot be

called a *palliative* : in this opinion he seems to be right, nor do I understand what your present view of that subject is ; recollecting that you always considered 1 *per cent.* as absolutely pledged to the public creditor, how can you take that security away without manifest injustice to him, and will not such an act be in fact an act of bankruptcy, and a final extinction of all credit for the public funds ?

“Tierney says that all the lower followers of Government consider their state as desperate and look upon a change of Government as inevitable ; and Tierney says he will undertake to shew you in black and white that there are 160 in declared opposition, and 70 who occasionally vote against Ministers, and out of those 70 you may count 30 as most generally against the Government ; furthermore he says the prevailing belief of a change in their ranks will still more reduce their numbers and add to ours. He is therefore sanguine in the belief that they will not stand, and if Lord Grey had not been stopped by his wife’s scarlet fever at Milton, he, Lord Grey, meant to have begged you to come up for a day or two to talk over what was to be done, if any message or invitation should come to Opposition. This is travelling fast and I may think faster than they ought to believe necessary, but still it is always wise to be prepared, and therefore Lord Grey comes up on the 20th. There will be a great eagerness for a division, and Ponsonby who is coming says that many Irish are arriving with him, all indeed who can pay their post-horses. He thinks an amendment must be moved to satisfy the eagerness of our friends. I tell him I think the first division should be a motion for appointing a committee to consider of the state of the revenue and expenditure of the country ; and that might be the first or second day ; he thinks a general amendment of the address better because under general words the reformers would vote with us ; but without that they would not, or rather they will have words to include that. I wish the reformers to move for themselves, for I hear Burdett has endless petitions for universal suffrage, and if so I think he will soon put an end to the cause of his reformers. I believe the Ministers think themselves weak and so do their followers ; I hope they will be able to struggle on till opinion grows more favourable to their antagonists.

“Watkin borrows at 10 *per cent.* ; the supposed annuity is only a device to render the interest legal.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1817, January 17.—“Tierney remarks upon your taking for the Consolidated Fund the average of 1815 and 1816, that he supposes our income as likely still farther to diminish, whereas you think it likely to mend.

“He observes that you add to lottery of	200,000
Imprest monies and other incidents ..	300,000
To make a total of	500,000
But the <i>Imprest and Incidents</i> are included in 40,000 <i>Consolidated Fund</i> , therefore you have taken twice credit for this £300,000.	
And your total of 47,000 should be ..	46,700
Then in Expenditure you make the Interest of funded debt	24,800
While he makes it, from the ear of the Commissioners of National Debt to 1 November	25,251,256
To which he adds Interest on Imprest Loan	171,823
Annuities on Ditto to expire in 1819 ..	230,000
Like Annuities by Commissioners of National Debt	219,461
Charge for Russian Loan	130,000
Interest on unfunded debt	1,500,000
Establishment	19,000,000
Civil List, &c.	1,500,000
<hr/>	
Making a total of	48,002,540
From this sum of Expenditure	48,000,540
Deduct the Income which by omitting your 300,000 will stand	46,700,000
<hr/>	

The Excess of Expenditure will be .. 1,300,540

“The French loan of 12 millions having been accomplished the French Funds have risen 5 or 6 *per cent*. Baring is gone to Paris, but Tierney says Baring has not a large share though Tierney thinks with me he had better have had none. The other Allied Powers withdraw 25,000 men, and we withdraw 5,000, so that the army in France is diminished by 30,000 men, against the vehement representation of Duke of Wellington, who threatened to resign, but remains.

“Tierney tells me the *moderate* reformers of London and Westminster with Lord Mayor and Waithman and many rich tradesmen have a great dinner to-day of 300 to separate from and disclaim all the violent ones; but as I find they mean to declare some reforms necessary, I think Cobbett will be dextrous enough to belong to them whether they will or no.

“Tierney says the discontent of the poor and lower orders in the present distress has been by Cobbett successfully directed to parliamentary reform, and though Tierney does not believe the gentry or farmers take much interest in the question, he thinks the lower orders do to a very alarming

degree; and the leading tradesmen to-day according to Tierney are to declare at their dinner for some reform, because though they are afraid of the violence of Hunt and Cobbett, they think they should lose all chance of any influence over any of the people if they declared against reform. Things have a very strong [? strange] aspect."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1817, January 20. Cleveland Square.—"Since I wrote last I have had a long conversation with Ponsonby, who professes as usual great *doubts* as to the question of reform, expresses no distinct opinion as usual but will as usual be led by those whom he is considered as leading. I find that Tierney had distinctly stated to Ponsonby his wish that the Opposition should put themselves at the head of the moderate reformers, and I find he openly avows his intention of supporting the measure of triennial Parliaments, which you will see was the main article of Mr. Waithman's creed at the dinner at Freemason's Tavern; and this corresponds with an expression of Tierney's to me the other day that the only chance now left was for the Opposition to *gain* the favour and confidence of the people. Here then is an avowed intention of forming Opposition into a common band with all such advocates of parliamentary reform as do not go to the extreme length of annual Parliaments and universal suffrage; but as I am no friend to triennial Parliaments, and do not believe that our present distresses arise from a defective representation, I will not join those who hurry favour with Waithman by voting for triennial Parliaments, nor will I be party to the dishonest delusion of pretending to think that a reform of Parliament will give work to the poor and bread to the hungry. Tierney continues to urge the necessity of amendment to the address as the only way of preventing the manifestation of a difference of opinion; for he says if general words of amendment, such as will include *all* reformers, are not adopted, the violent ones will move their own amendment. My answer is that I desire they will do so, and that it is both a fraud upon the public and a dupery on our own part for us to make as if we agreed with those from whom we most entirely differ; and this is not the same case as formerly when a single question of reform was put and so disposed of; but there is now a systematic organisation of the poor and hungry of the whole country to draw from their distresses an ignorant elamour for reform of Parliament, and this being in the hands of Cobbett and Hunt and Watson and such-like, Tierney has conceived the notion of substituting himself and Opposition as the leaders of this army in lieu of Cobbett &c., in which he will be most miserably mistaken, for Cobbett will take the assistance of

Tierney as far as he will go, and then will throw him into the dirt and trample upon him and laugh at him, and all his moderate triennial reformers.

"I look with great apprehension to this determination of Tierney's, because if the countenance of respectable men in opposition is given to the opinion that some change must be made, Cobbet will take care to explain to the poor and hungry that unless they all vote, and vote annually, they will gain nothing by the change. Now surely our present measure of evil is full enough, without super-adding a perilous change in the whole constitution of the country. Elliot is come yesterday. I expect you because the times are too critical to make it honest to be absent for those who can do good."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1817, [January 23]. Cleveland Square.—"There was a very small meeting of 6 or 8 at which Elliot was present last night, and Tierney read his proposed address, in which there was not a word of parliamentary reform, and nothing but retrenchment and economy—on which topics, however, if the speech is what we hear, there will be nothing for Opposition to add. I understand Elliot to have distinctly objected to any system being adopted by the party under the name or idea of moderate reform, and that all present distinctly disclaimed any intention of acting with any such view or system. This is something ; but not enough unless it is found that the *practice* corresponds with the *disclaimer*.

"Elliot has promised to meet you at Lady Grenville's on Saturday at six in Cleveland Square, for I have undertaken for you and her that you had better come and dine with me upon your arrival on Saturday."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1817, January 23. Cleveland Square.—"I wrote you a line this morning from Elliot's desiring you and Lady Grenville to come and eat your chop with Elliot and me on Saturday in Cleveland Square. I add a line now to say that Tierney has just called upon me to read me his amendment which (if there is to be any) seems quite unexceptionable. He appears to imagine that Sir Francis Burdett will give notice of a motion for leave to bring in a Bill drawn up at Waithman's Hampden Club for triennial parliaments and for moderate reform. Tierney tells me that there is a strong report current in town that you have written to Lord Binning in answer to his enquiries of what reform your office would admit, that you was not aware of any, but that you desired if any were found practicable, that *your own salary might not stand in the way of any desirable reform*, but that you had further added that

in your opinion the reform should begin in the highest quarters, meaning the Prince Regent, etc., etc. To all this I could only say that I had never heard of any such letter.

“Lord Grey comes up with his wife to-morrow to Half Moon Street. Tierney seems to have strong reason for believing that the Treasury have got into a very perilous scrape. He says he knows from some of the officers of the Exchequer that within the last months *two millions* of Exchequer bills have been issued *beyond* the sum authorised by Parliament. He suspects this to be done in their issuing *five* instead of *three* millions on the surplus of the Consolidated Fund. He supposes the want of these two millions to have arisen in order to pay the dividends on last 5 January. He says the Irish dividends have been usually paid here by our stopping so much of the Irish loan ; and as there was no loan his conjecture is that they had neglected to provide any other fund for this payment till it actually became due : he says one or two persons have expressed to him their surprise that you should have signed bills so illegally issued, but that his answer has been that he supposes the order of the Treasury is mandatory upon the Auditor, which I suppose must be the case.

“Grefeuil tells him the loan is by this time signed in Paris with the approbation of the *Government here* who mean in a public communication to the Bank, to *recommend* this loan to their favour ! Surely this is a strange course in our Ministers to adopt, in the present pressure of our own finances, and with their constant professions of wishing the Bank to resume payments in cash.

“I thought it important to mention these reports to you as soon as I heard them. I expect you Saturday.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1817, April 15. Cleveland Square.—“Mr. Knox has been here this morning by his own appointment. I find he had heard so much in the streets of the Grenvilles having joined Government that he thought it advisable to have some conversation upon that subject, although he said he did not consider himself as entitled to put any questions of so nice a nature, but he said his original attachment was to you, and that he had never varied from it though he had incurred in his own person and in his son’s a good deal of hostility from the Government, who had latterly refused to promote his father in the peerage upon the alleged ground of the son’s political attachment to you : he said he should continue the same principles and the same attachment, and that his chief object was only to say that if it were true that the Grenvilles were joining Government, he would then hope from their friendship their assistance in the only two points that were desirable for him, the promotion in the peerage (or an English

peerage, for I did not distinctly make this out) and support in the county of Tyrone.

"I told him that I had no knowledge or belief of any sort of communication having taken place respecting you or any of your friends uniting with the present Government; that I conceived the report which Mr. Knox alluded to could have arisen only from the support which our friends had given to the Sedition Bills, and the disinclination which they had shewn to the language held by some of the Opposition respecting the French war and Bonaparte; that, however, upon these two questions of domestic sedition and French war, there was nothing new in your language and in that of your friends on these subjects, on which you had always continued to differ from Mr. Fox's friends, and that you had done nothing more than to recur to the same principles and opinions which you had always uniformly held and avowed on those subjects: but that I did not know or believe in any word of communication respecting our supposed junction with the Government; that I had always heard you acknowledge the kindness and liberality with which Mr. Knox had conducted himself to you, and was confident that if it were in your power to assist any wishes of his you would readily do so; but that I believed there was no question whatever of any such junction as he alluded to, and that the very limited attendance which you now gave to Parliament was, I believed, connected with the intention of not subjecting your health and strength to a renewal of the same lead in public business which you had formerly taken, even if a proper opportunity presented itself for a change of Government.

"This was the general course of the conversation; he did not seem at all disappointed, said he almost suspected the reports he had heard were exaggerated, but had thought it right just to state his wishes, in case those reports had been better founded. He said he knew that you did not intend in any case to resume the lead of public business, repeated that his opinions continued and would continue the same, and dwelt with some pleasure upon his sharing in those opinions respecting you and your friends with the Bute family and the Primate, with whom he is connected in blood and friendship.

"The Speaker is so ill that it is doubtful whether he will be well even by Thursday se'night; his complaint is erysipelas in the face.

"Miss Mercer's marriage with Flahault is announced. The Hollands go to Holland in June and Sir J[ames] McIntosh with them."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1817, April 18. Cleveland Square.—"I have this moment received the enclosed from Charles. I have written to say

that I am too ignorant of the state of the House to give much opinion upon a case which ought to be governed a good deal by a detailed knowledge of the dispositions that prevail there ; that generally speaking I should recommend to him if he can be respectably nominated, and that nomination respectably supported in debate, to let himself be put in nomination ; but I should hesitate about a *division* ; because unless there were sanguine hopes of more numbers than I know how to expect, he may do better by declining to count his numbers and resting upon '*omne ignotum pro magnifico.*' But the speculations of such a division are out of my reach who never attend any. I have, however, told Charles that if the Speaker does not come on Thursday next, and if the vacancy is proposed to be supplied by Sturges Bourne, as the talk now is, unless Charles is here himself he can give himself no option as to standing forward or not, because to be a candidate he must be present. As to his being governed by Watkin's letter of this day, in the first place Watkin will arrive too late to write, and in the next place he can write nothing in the fever of his arrival that ought to have any weight in Charles's decision. All this I have told him, and have shewn him that unless he comes on Sunday, he decides against giving himself the option for the contingency of Thursday.

"I agree entirely with you in the opinions which you express as to the communications which Lord Buckingham should have with his friends and family, on a subject in which his own strength and means so much depend on their concurrence, and this I shall undoubtedly press upon him whenever the subject shall occur ; neither have I any fear but that he will feel the force of such plain sense and reasoning : but what I do fear is that the impetuosity of his wishes will be found such as to outrun all exercise of discretion, judgment and reserve on topics where those qualities are quite indispensable for arriving at a proper result. Of this ungovernable and indiscreet precipitation what greater proof can there be than that he should have opened himself on so delicate a subject to Ph. who is a perfect stranger to him, without having previously communicated with you or Charles or any of his immediate friends or family ? I think his disposition as far as I can collect it places him more within the reach of any overture from Government than they, or perhaps he himself is aware of, and as the advocate of his individual interests, doubting as much as I do whether he has patience or discretion enough to act upon the large scale upon which I wish to see him acting, I hardly know whether he will do better for himself or not in yielding to that disposition and thus pursuing the more subordinate objects of rank and honours. If he had patience and fortitude and disciplined ambition, his course is plain enough, for there never was a moment more favour-

able than the present to a man of great station in the country to invite the formation of a party as little pledging themselves to the weakness of the Ministers as to the violence and excesses of the Opposition : but plain as this course is I can scarcely flatter myself that there is much chance of his adopting the voluntary sacrifices and self-denials, the forbearance, the temper and the perseverance, that wisely and duly observed might give him great and popular leading in the country. Another fair feature in this picture is, that he has an honest, sincere and amiable desire to pursue no political course that shall not be consistent with your political views, opinions and conduct, all which would be most easily reconciled by the reasoned and temperate measures which I have adverted to. But honestly and affectionately desirous as he is of walking in your path, and much as I am persuaded that it would lead him slowly but certainly to power and greatness, I doubt whether he could ever acquire self-control enough to keep within the limits of so restrained a course. My expectation therefore is that he will run the more ordinary race, and that finding himself separated in opinion upon very important points from many of those with whom he has voted, the eagerness of the present moment will hurry him into a more rapid approach towards his former adversaries than may suit with the wishes of most of his younger friends or with what remains of the political life of the elders of his family.

“What I hear of the fever and irritation of one wing of our former army may very probably lessen some of these latter difficulties, for whatever excesses that irritation may induce will naturally widen that separation instead of reducing it, but even in that case our own friend and relation will have a pulse that will most feverishly keep pace in his own march with that of those from whom he differs. The result therefore of this long prose does not present any very distinct conclusion ; but it is very important for the peer and the commoner to communicate together, and to hold as much as possible one common course in the two Houses ; I therefore hope Charles will not think [of] another week of Wales, but come up to the discussion of all these topics, in all of which he is so strongly and directly interested ; and if you think so too perhaps you will write him a line to that effect which will reach him on Monday, in case he shall not have gone on Sunday, which is not likely. Abbot’s friends report him somewhat better, but on Tuesday night an express came from him for a physician, who went down to him.

“Castlereagh’s is an uncertain ill-formed gout hanging about the leg that had been kicked.

“The Regent’s levee is on Monday, the Queen’s drawing room on Wednesday—why should you not come to dinner on Wednesday either at your own house or at mine, whichever

you like best, and invite Charles either to me or to you? We could then talk over what is best for him before Thursday."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1817, April 21. Cleveland Square.—"The later reports have continued to hold out the probability of the Speaker being well enough to come down on Thursday; but, as I am informed, those who attend him have no confidence in his health being such as to enable him to continue in office. The reason of Manners Sutton being out of the question is said to be his extreme short-sightedness, which would not enable him to call to any member by their name.

"Lord Camden has just called to shew me that in his answer to the compliments of the county of Brecon upon his surrendering his Teller's income, he had introduced my poor brother's name as having acted upon the same principle, and as these are to be printed in the papers, I think he did very properly and liberally in introducing Lord Buckingham's name as he has done.

"That beast Bankes said he would notice Lord Buckingham's contributions in his report, and afterwards told Lord Camden he found it IMPOSSIBLE to do so; I never read with so much disgust any public paper as I felt in reading his report which had all the cold insolence and democratic jargon of the worst times of the civil war. Lord Buckingham sent an express to the Duke of Grafton on the 19th to say that Lady Buckingham was too ill to come herself or to allow him to leave her; but as they are both expected in town to-morrow to go to the Queen's house next day, I suppose and hope this was only an excuse.

"I know nothing of Grey's opinions of Lord Sidmouth's letter, but according to the newspaper account the Mayor of Liverpool seems to have been more flippant and ignorant than is convenient for the exercise of legal duties. After an Act had passed to allow Socinian chapels and doctrines, it is not easy to question the Socinian lectures of a Socinian preacher: this should have been more carefully considered when W[illiam] Smith's Act was passed. I met Lord Granville for a quarter of an hour in St. James's Place, and he seemed to me in a higher state of general irritation than I ever saw him in, which is, I supposed, heightened by his living more than ever with Brougham and Lambton: they are trying to set up an evening paper to be written by these two under the name of the *Guardian*; I will send them for a motto the old hackneyed quotation, *Sed quis custodiat ipsos custodes*?

"I am just told from pretty good authority that the Speaker is really better; but that the main motive for prolonging the adjournment till to-morrow se'nnight is that Castlereagh is

seriously ill with an ill-formed and ill-disposed gout, and that he is extremely irritated with the apprehension of his not being able to lead in the House, and of his place being supplied there by Canning; and the prolonged adjournment is more owing to this than to the Speaker's health. Lord Ellenborough is quite stout again—the Princess is declared to be *en grossesse*—the Flahault marriage announced—and what news more would you have?

“Abercrombie is just returned from Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, and says the improved difference since he was in the same country three months ago is more than he could have expected, the farmers in better heart, the looms all at work at Nottingham, and cottons 15 pence a yard dearer than they were.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1817, July 5. Cleveland Square.—“You shall certainly find a dinner here on Thursday for you and Lady Grenville, and the carriage shall be at your orders.

“I hope to join you at Dropmore almost as soon as you shall return there, and to stay with you till your Cornish journey begins, when I shall go either to Stowe or to the Isle of Wight, and shall quietly wait for your return to these more midland parts from your western extremities.

“Lord Lansdowne will see you in town on Thursday and will fix a day with you for his going to Dropmore towards the middle of this month.

“I have just heard that the Spencers mean to pass a couple of days about the 21st at Blenheim in their way to Isle of Wight. Have you ever proposed our party to the Duke? Would it not be a good opportunity, and should not you do well to propose it?

“I hear Bagley thinks Ponsonby will live, though they have not formally pronounced him out of danger, but his return to business is out of the question.

“There are vague notions of Lord Tavistock or Lord Milton or Lord G[eorge] Cavendish taking the lead; but Tierney yesterday seemed to think that next session everybody would be thrown loose and act for themselves, which seems the most probable. Brougham [will] in fact be leader whoever [is the] nominal one.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1817, August 3. Stowe.—“I forgot when I saw you at Dropmore to execute a commission which I had undertaken for the Somersets. They mean to send their son to Eton in next October, and supposing you to know more than they do of your neighbours at Eton, they wish to know which of the tutors there is considered the most likely to look after Seymour,

whom they describe as very quick but very idle. They mean their boy to board in a tutor's house. The persons recommended to them are Knapp by Lord Holland, Bethell, whose wife is said to be a very attentive dame, and Hawtrey, Drury, Plumptree and Young have also been named as tutors who receive boarders. I have just had a letter from the Duchess reminding me of the promise I had made her to enquire from you, and therefore I shall be much obliged to you if you will tell me without loss of time whatever you may happen to know upon this subject; or if there is anybody from whom you can get any useful information by writing, will you have the goodness to do so, to help me out, as I am a little ashamed of having so entirely forgot everything about Seymour, his tutor, and October? He is a fine boy and I am sure you will agree with me in recommending that he should have no servant, nor private tutor, nor anything of any distinction which can take him out of the general mass of the other schoolboys.

"I hear from Lord Buckingham that Mackintosh, while here, received a letter telling him that it was now finally arranged that Goldbourn should be the Irish Secretary, Lord Binning having been put aside in consequence of his Catholic opinions, and that this measure was considered in London as another very decisive proof of the anti-Catholic spirit which has lately so strongly been marked as the leading feature of the present Government. You know I always thought that this view of the matter would probably put an end to some of the speculations which we had conversed about, and which you had some thoughts of writing about. I am sorry that my prediction is so soon verified because though I do not believe Catholic concession would do everything in Ireland, in point of good, yet I believe a declared and renewed hostility to it will do as much harm as Ireland is capable of bearing, and perhaps a little more.

"The farmers complain of the weather more as a drain upon their pockets than as spoiling their hay, for they say they get it in without spoiling, but are ruined by keeping on their hay-makers in such hindering weather.

"I grow almost impatient for your return to Dropmore before you are got halfway to Boconnoc, for I am become so little locomotive that even Staffordshire and Wynnstay seem to me to be the end of the world; I hope I shall find '*vires acquisit eundo*.' They say that Duc de Berri meeting Lady Jersey at Paris who told him she would travel no more, said '*Comment donc, Miladi, pas même à St. Helène?*' "

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1817, August 23. Trentham.—"Many thanks for your letter, though it furnished no tutor for the heir of Maiden

Bradley. I have in various ways had such strong recommendations of Plumtree, who, they say, is confessedly the best Greek scholar and most fagging of all the tutors, that I have advised the Duchess to enquire more about him, although I hear that he is the greatest quiz that the annals of Eton ever produced.

"I wish I could see from this window the new approach of Boconnoc, the growth of the two plantations nearest the house on the left, and those upon the two high grounds in the park ; but unfortunately all this cannot be really seen except by a more active control of my '*vis inertice*' that I know how to exercise.

"Pray tell Lady Grenville that there is here a sort of all-spice called *callicanthus precox*, which came from Leigh and Kennedy, and grows out very handsomely and smells very deliciously, and flourishes here in the open air against a wall, though it is generally in other places shut up in a greenhouse."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1817, September 14. Hawarden Castle.—"I became acquainted with Mr. Bliss of St. John's (the editor of Wood's *Annals of Oxford*) two years ago at Althorp, and, finding him a very modest and painstaking man, I procured him access to the Stowe library, and did him some literary courtesies, for which he has always been more grateful than he need : he solicits, as you will see by the enclosed, my interest with you for an expected vacancy at the Museum ; I have promised him what little recommendation I can give him, because I really believe him to be fit for that situation from the course of his studies, and those who know him better than I do, such as Heber and others, consider him as an amiable and deserving man, to whom a certain salary, though small, will be an important assistance : I understand that he thinks it necessary to produce himself before an actual vacancy, from his apprehensions of other candidates pre-engaging the trustees.

"I hope you have had the same dry fortnight in the west, for which we have this morning been offering our thanksgiving in George's church : in the evening we are to have great doings, for the Bishop of St. Asaph is come over to preach an evening sermon for a collection to build a large school of education here in addition to that which George has already built out of his own funds. Lord Braybrooke and Lady Williams are here, and I am going on with my sister to-morrow to poor Harriet, who has not yet recovered her spirits after the death of her infant.

"Lord Bradford is just arrived here from Wynnstay ; he saw Lord Talbot last week who tells him that Peel has consented to stay another year ; I am the more surprised at

this from having just heard that Mr. and Mrs. Lewis were unexpectedly just arrived in London, and had begged a bed at Lord Braybrooke's, and I had thought in my own mind that it was not by mere chance that Lewis came up about the time that Lord Talbot is to be sworn in. Mary Glynne is quite well and so is her little girl, and I hope I have sufficiently encouraged her to send Stephen next Easter to Eton, for I find that the clergyman to whom he goes now has no longer any pupils but Stephen and his brother, and I never saw any boy to whom a large school was more necessary than to Stephen.

"I hear from Lord Buckingham from Stowe that he is not yet quite recovered from the low fever in which I left him."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1817, September 21. Vale Royal.—"I rejoice to find that your western sun has shone as steadily as ours in North Wales; this day completes three weeks during which we have not had one drop of rain, and I have felt so thankful for it, that I have not repined at the many individual privations which during all that time my wounded foot has imposed upon me, and now in two or three days more I feel confident that I shall strut about again as sturdily as ever. Harriet's spirits mend but are still so much below par that I have persuaded her to leave home in five or six days and pass a week with her mother and brother and husband and me at Matlock; from thence after a day or two at Worksop in the beginning of October, I shall pass on to Elton, my sister being anxious to see me there, more especially since Lord Carysfort's loss of his brother-in-law Osborne, whose loss he much and deeply regrets; Elizabeth's latter letters to Lady Williams, however, describe him as more tranquil and less irritable than when he was in London. I shall endeavour to persuade him to name his cousin Proby to the Chancellor as the fittest person to be joint-committee with him of Lord Proby, in the room of Judge Osborne. From Elton I shall go on to Audley End if Newmarket does not interfere and when you are quietly settled at Dropmore shall hope to rejoin you there.

"My letters always get charged with some solicitation or other. Doctor Burney of Greek celebrity is a very friendly man with whom I live a good deal in society; he writes me word that he is put in nomination for the preachership at Gray's Inn, and requests of me to beg your interest with J[ohn] King who has a vote as a bencher. Burney would do more credit to Gray's Inn than he will reap of profit, and if you can get him J. King's vote, I shall be very much obliged to you.

"What I hear from all quarters confirms me in the persuasion that the general course of the country is improving,

and I know not how under those circumstances to account for the sinking state of the last quarter's revenue, so much below the low state of the corresponding quarter in the last year ; the increased number of English emigrants will probably tell for something in this question, but the difference which you describe cannot so be accounted for. By Lord Buckingham's letter of the 14th, I find he has had a letter from Charles urging him to co-operation etc., in all which sentiments Lord Buckingham writes that he strongly concurs, and only wishes Charles to take a separate lead and separate bench for himself, which I trust he will do next session. Lord Buckingham has had another slight bilious attack from which he is recovered and is keeping the gout at bay by his dog and his gun ; he tells me he continues to receive the best accounts from Temple ; he likes Lady Ebrington mightily but thinks Ebrington more out of spirits than ever.

“Watkin's auditor and agent, son to the Chief Baron, is leaving him, being tempted to become a joint partner with his brother, who has married the heiress of Chalié the wine merchant, and hopes to make 2 or 3,000*l. per annum* of his partnership ; Watkin is at a sad loss how to replace him ; I wish you would tell him how to find another Mr. Sharman ; if accident should suggest to you anything on this head it would be of infinite service.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1818, January 26. Cleveland Square.—“Lord Buckingham has just sent for me for my information a letter which he has written to you containing an account of a conversation between him and Harrison of the Treasury from Lord Liverpool.

“In returning to Lord Buckingham his letter to you I have very frankly told him that I entirely disapproved of such communications with ministerial underlings, which I thought it neither for his interest or his dignity to lend himself to ; that in my opinion there was nothing in the present circumstances that could make it fit for him to commit his opinions as to all the measures of finance and policy which Ministers propose to bring forward ; that in my opinion he ought to have stopped Harrison *in limine* by saying that he could not listen to a confidential intercourse with Ministers on their future measures without previously consulting and considering with his friends as to the propriety of such a measure and disposition which they might feel to lend themselves to it.

“I added that I was persuaded he would find you very little disposed, on such communications, to pledge any of your opinions either as to finance or any other system of measures ; and I only further added that in giving him these undisguised opinions I had no personal concern in any of these subjects, and had no other wish than to see him fill

his station with dignity and propriety and a due consideration to the support of his friends.

“I own I was quite astonished to see that when Harrison hesitatingly asked whether this communication was to be considered as made to Lord Grenville, Lord Buckingham at once said ‘most certainly’! How can he have had so little recollection as not to perceive that you ought at least to have had an option as to receiving any communication of so confidential a nature from those with whom you are in no habits of confidence?”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1818, January 28. Cleveland Square.—“I return you your copy, which I have shown to Charles; it accords entirely with my own opinions, and is in truth only what I had said to Lord Buckingham, but in better words, and more at length. I took for granted that you would think it necessary to give to Lord Liverpool some distinct account of your view of this transaction in which you had found your name engaged; undoubtedly the most complete and full account will be furnished to him by giving to him through Mr. Harrison a sight of all that you have written upon your first knowledge of what had passed; but whether this upon the whole should best be done by *a new letter to Harrison* containing extracts of yours to Lord Buckingham, depends partly upon the more or less of confidential intimacy between Harrison and you, and partly upon the chance of Lord Buckingham taking it unkindly that a letter from uncle to nephew should be sent *in toto* to a first Minister and his secretary. I am perhaps more apprehensive than is necessary upon this subject, and in strict justice to Lord Buckingham could not complain of what has been produced by his own indiscretion; but still if you can set yourself right without in any degree wounding his feelings, you would certainly prefer such a course to any other.

“As to the committee expected to be proposed in the House of Lords, I confess I consider that so entirely as a necessary part of the former proceeding in which you took part, that in my opinion the Ministers are fairly entitled to the authority of your name and assistance in the completion of the measure which you approved and assisted. I cannot therefore in conscience advise you to decline it, and I suspect that Dropmore and a disinclination to the House of Lords is the real active motive of your doubts and hesitation on this subject.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1818, January 29. Cleveland Square.—“The enclosed letter which I have just received from Avington will shew you that Lord Buckingham wishes me and Charles to see his letter to you containing his intimation of not attending in Parliament.

have told Lord Buckingham in answer that I cannot judge of his motives till I learn them by seeing his letter ; that there is nothing in what has recently passed that is naturally connected with such a determination ; but that if he sees in your intention of rare attendance in the House of Lords any new difficulty to himself in taking a party-position between Government and Opposition, I am not at all sure that it will not be his wisest course also to attend but rarely ; and that I certainly do think it much more for his interest and advantage to go very little to the House of Lords than to go oftener in any avowed support or connection with the Ministers ; which last situation is in my mind the most disadvantageous that he could incur.

“I have added that I grow too old to advise ; and that he in the active time of his age must after all be the only competent judge of what would be the fittest course for him to follow. I quite approve of your letter to Harrison.

“I do not attach great importance to your attending the committee, but I still think it arises out of the Suspension Bill and fairly calls for the same support. Lord Milton told me he should not object to attending that of the Commons ; but if you are in the country perhaps that may be the best solution.”

Enclosure :

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO THOMAS GRENVILLE.

1818, January 29.—“I so entirely agree with you in your feelings that I expressed pretty nearly as much to Harrison, saying that now, connected as I was with either party in Parliament, I could not be holding private communications with the Government, that therefore I must consider this as the private and individual communication of Lord Liverpool alone to Lord Grenville and to me, and in no ways as a communication between the Government and me. Harrison acquiesced in this and said the communication was made in consequence of Lord Grenville’s conversation with him and note to him, and that it would have been made to him in the first instance, had he, Lord Grenville, been in town. Upon these grounds I feel I had no right to reject a communication of civility expressed to be merely personal, and had I stated my refusal to enter into this conversation without previous consultation with my friends, I should have magnified into an official communication, what was expressly stated to be a private one and one of civility only, arising only out of previous conversation with Lord Grenville. As I have not expressed this at length in my letter to Lord Grenville, I wish you would send this note to him, as explanatory of my letter.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1818, January 31. Cleveland Square.—“If I spoke decidedly upon the subject of your attending the committee

it was as you will have seen because I rated higher than you seem to do, the sort of engagement which your former attendance and support of the Suspension Bill seemed to have placed you under ; and where one thinks one sees a strong line of duty, one looks less at any alternative. The engagement, however, that I mean, has in it none of the inconveniences which your letter attributes to it ; for most undoubtedly I have not the smallest notion that your attendance on the committee will claim from you any sort of approbation of any of the measures taken by any of the Sidmouthery, and if those measures appear to you to be objectionable, I think you will be bound to object to them, and will do so with more effect, as an approver of the Suspension and as a member of the committee, than as an indifferent and impartial peer of Parliament. I certainly do think the country has a claim upon you to follow up the examination of those papers which are connected with what you had examined last year, and that they are entitled to know your opinion as to the grounds on which the Ministers and magistrates have acted in these special circumstances, which form the second act of the same drama in which you held a distinguished part ; but I am so far from thinking that your support of all that may have been ill-done may be demanded or expected from your attending this committee, that I should, I believe, if I accepted Lord Liverpool's invitation, insert in my letter to him a line or two to mark how much I thought the *conduct* of the magistrates a distinct and different consideration from the principle of the Suspension Bill.

“What Lord Folkestone will do I know not, as he is gone with Lord Milton to his hounds, but Lord Milton told me he should attend if he was invited. Poor Elliot, though better and well enough to walk out in the morning, has still a very feverish pulse, and his attendance for the present is out of all question. I have no conception that Lord Lansdown will on any account attend, because I think his answer is obvious, that having disapproved of the measure of the suspension he has no wish to be a member of the enquiry into the conduct of the magistrates under it, neither is there upon him any claim either from the country or the Government more than belongs to all other peers of Parliament. These are my sincere opinions, but I still repeat what I said yesterday, that if your disinclination continues so strongly, I know not why you should not follow your own better judgment.

“Lord Anglesea expects the blue ribbon, which the Doctor wants for himself.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1818, February 2. Cleveland Square.—“I should be truly sorry, if I thought there was any question as to duty, to find

that you was disposed to adopt any other judgment than your own; but I still think that you had no option, and therefore I rejoice to see that you have expressed your consent in so handsome a letter, and I am still more gratified in seeing that you will have Lord Lansdown's attendance, who appears to take so just a view of the duty which he is to enter upon.

"I have had another letter from Lord Buckingham, which I have just answered by telling him fairly and frankly that I thought the great misfortune of his life is that he always takes the most exaggerated view of any little difficulty that occurs, and that when he meets with any of those rubs that occurs to all men, instead of setting himself to work to overcome it, he always comes to a full stop, as if the world were at an end whenever it does not run as he would have it. I am sure my philosophy is right and the necessity of my preaching it very urgent, but I am not sanguine in working a radical cure, though I hope I shall do some temporary good. He has written in the same tone of complaint to Charles, but I have little doubt that upon reflection he will see all this more moderately and reasonably.

"Clarence is now talked of for the sister of the Duchess of Cambridge, and the brother Hesse Homburgh is actually going to marry the fat Princess Elizabeth.

"Sidmouth, encouraged by Knighton's success, thinks the Doctor should have the blue ribbon when the man-midwife has such high honours; but Lord Anglesea will beat him. I am no less surprised than Lansdowne at finding Van resting our bank restriction upon French finance! Elliot has the gout, from which we all hope well. Queen ill."

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN to LORD GRENVILLE.

1818, March 11. Buckden Place.—"Not having been so fortunate as to find you in town when I was there ten or twelve days since, you will perhaps allow me to ask you by letter, whether you have had leisure to look at the manuscript with which you had the goodness to permit me to trouble you, and to give it that improvement, both by correction and addition, which I was willing to hope it would receive from you. I have continued the account to the end of the session 1792, but I shall not venture to send it to you unless you should inform me that you wish to take it with you to Dropmore, when you go thither for the Easter recess. I hope in any case I shall have the satisfaction of conversing with you upon the subject in town next month."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1818, June 1. Cleveland Square.—"I see by Coutts's book that the last Exchequer payment of the April quarter is

charged with the deduction of the percentage which we both of us offered last year in our letters to Vansittart. In recurring to those letters I see we neither of us mentioned any term during which this sacrifice should be made; my general intention was certainly to offer that sacrifice for one year and no more, and I am sure that I am not induced to extend that period, either from the belief that such a sacrifice is of any utility, or from thinking that the same circumstances demand a continuance of it, or from the vain hope of being gratified by the public impression from such a sacrifice being continued. On the contrary I think the measure originated in a false fear from the Government at a time of great public pressure; I think moreover that the improving state of the revenue removes the pretences under which this sacrifice was asked; and thirdly I am perfectly convinced that there is not one man in England who thinks better either of you or me for the money which we have given. Under this impression I should be inclined to write no new letter to Vansittart, but to instruct Mr. Dickie to receive the whole of the next quarter at the Exchequer without deduction. But as I wish to do in this as you do, I will do nothing till I learn from you how far your ideas correspond with mine. Tierney tells me that in the account of the produce of these deductions, which at his motion was produced, the Prince's 50,000 stands thus, 25,000 *lodged at Coutts's* and 25,000 ordered to be lodged there. This looks like management, because the natural thing would be to pay it to the Exchequer; Tierney has got the paper printed in order thus to shew it, but does not mean to move or speak upon it.

“Elliot is ill and looks ill, though he says he is somewhat better; he comes in again, which I am very glad of. I am again got hold of by the east wind, which I suppose will keep me coughing and sneezing for four or five days. Lord Colchester adopts our project with great ardour.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1818, June 4. Cleveland Square.—“I have given the proper orders to Dickie on your account as well as my own. It is to be a secret for four or five days that Ebrington has just written to his father to say that he has just found an avowed junction between the two other candidates A[cland] and B[astard] which makes his cause desperate, as he has no fourth man to join him, and he cannot hope to find votes enough to beat the interchange of the other two. I think it quite providential that this junction has been discovered before any real expense had been incurred; I fancy at a meeting of his friends on Wednesday he will decline and publicly give this unexpected junction as the reason: till Wednesday it should not be named. Hamlet gave 6,000 for what was called a decisive interest at

Fowey, and sold it to Mr. Lucy for 12,000 who has made his bargain with Lord L[iverpool] for bringing in Stanhope. The pretence of Lord L[iverpool] is that Lord Valletort is put up by the JACOBINS at Fowey ; but it is being a great alarmist indeed to look at Mt. Edgumbe with these fears.

“The weather is delicious, and I am told all London will run down electioneering on Monday.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1818, June 6. Cleveland Square.—“I will not refuse myself to your reiterated summons ; although I have engagements for next week, I have sent to put them off and will come down to you to-morrow, Sunday, bringing Charles with me, if his wife will let him go. |

“The proclamation yesterday was fixed for to-day ; but whether the bother that they got into with their Alien Bill will again put off the dissolution, nobody seems yet to know ; the Speaker’s decision yesterday saved them from being beat in a division on the question.

“At all events, I shall not be able to get to you, unless you send me a pair of horses to Cranford Bridge, where I shall be a little before one, as I leave town to-morrow at eleven.”

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN to THE SAME.

1818, June 11. Great George Street.—“I thank you for your letter and beg leave to assure you that in collating Mr. Goddard to the Archdeaconry of Lincoln I felt peculiar pleasure in thinking that I was at once promoting your wishes and making some provision for a most excellent and deserving man. I have rarely disposed of a piece of preferment more to my satisfaction.

“I send you another volume only partially filled, which completes all I have written. I am in no hurry whatever for the manuscript.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1818, June 22. Cleveland Square.—“You may perhaps recollect a little book of a voyage to Spitzbergen, written with remarkable intelligence by a Scotch surgeon of the name of Laing. Accident has brought to my knowledge that a typhus fever has killed two of his children, disabled his wife, and kept him at the point of death so as that the expenses attending this calamity have utterly ruined him. Fifty or sixty pounds will enable him to try his fortune again, and if you have two or 3*l.* that you like to give in this line, I can venture to say that there are few cases in which it would be likely to do more essential service. The poor man has the highest testimonials both to talents and character ; but nevertheless

he is in a desperate state of poverty ; I will give him any little matter that you send.

"I hear nothing of Devonshire except that London reports say Bastard is quite safe, and Ackland nearly so. By hearing nothing I fear that the contest is to go on, and will thus add very heavy expense at the tail of probable defeat and disappointment. Halke[t] keeps on the Berkshire poll for fourteen days. Burdett's friends are to make a new effort, and they talk loudly of their hopes, but I feel confident in the present state of the poll, and in what I am told of the disgust that exists against the champion of the *bonnet rouge*.

"Dickenson has a contest in Somersetshire as Lethbridge will stand. Lord M[ount] Edgcumbe says the return will be against him at Fowey, but that he is sure of success on petition. Shelly and his friend are said to be within the danger of bribery being proved against them. I rejoice to hear that Murray the bookseller, Croker's particular friend and correspondent, says that Croker cannot beat Plunkett this time. I am just come from Wimbledon. Lord Spencer is better."

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1818, June 25. Cleveland Square.—"I am much obliged to you for adding your subscription to the poor Scotch surgeon ; I was enabled to make him up a little sum which will give the poor fellow a chance of beginning again.

"I have just received the Aylesbury poll of yesterday. Nugent 219, Rickford 142, Cavendish 127. Lord Buckingham writes that he rather believes C[avendish] will carry it, but that he will be very hard pushed if he does. Burdett three days ago sent 5,000*l.* to his committee, and announced 10,000 more if necessary. The consequence was a hired mob, music, flags, and open houses, and the general opinion is that he will be first, and the run will be between Maxwell and Romilly. What nasty hypocrisy it is to affect such purity and SELF RESPECT as will not allow him to canvass the voters or to attend the hustings, and then to resort to all the dirty tricks and riotous outrages of the lowest and most profligate electioneering agent : Bruce and Kinnaird seem to be very worthy bottle-holders to such a champion.

"You will be sorry to hear that the Leeds clothiers still threaten Lord Milton with their large subscription and their candidate Stapleton ; the only hope is that this will not spread beyond the vicinity of Leeds, but still it may breed all the expense of a poll for the County of York. I suppose the near approach of my grand climacteric has abated my ardour ; but to me it seems inexplicable how Lord Fitzwilliam should engage in another 100,000*l.*, Ebrington in 20,000, for I suppose it cannot be less, and most of all how

Maxwell can endure to be beat and spit upon by a savage rabble for the honours of county and city representation.

“Lord Spencer is slowly mending. I go there again for two or three days, and for as much more to Wilderness, and hope to be with you about the latter end of next week.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1818, June 30. Cleveland Square.—“I am just going to Ashridge for a couple of days, and take Cashiobury on my return on Thursday or Friday, but doubt whether I can stay till Monday, as I have a day or two’s business in London before I join you at Dropmore, which I hope to do about Thursday se’nnight, and to stay with you till I go to Ryde the beginning of August.

“You see Cavendish is beat at Aylesbury, which is a bad thing for Lord Buckingham, as it not only will breed future opposition at Aylesbury, but it will also irritate the minds of that party in the country, who will be taught to attribute their defeat to some management from Stowe.

“Tierney told me yesterday that he had just received a letter from Ebrington, in which Lord Ebrington said he was pretty confident about the resident votes in the county, and wished Tierney to try to keep the London voters from coming down by pairing them off; a manœuvre not very practicable as he had forgot to tell Tierney the name or residence of any one London voter; but this sounds at least as if he felt pretty sure.

“Romilly’s friends seem now to be joining pretty openly with Burdett, and I suppose they will succeed. Plunkett is elected—so is Morpeth, who having owed much kindness to Lord Lonsdale refused to join Curwin.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1818, July 3. Cashiobury.—“I enclose to you Lord Buckingham’s letter, by which you will see that he has rapidly recovered from what might have been a very bad accident. I have told him, on the election, that I think he is too sanguine in supposing the result to be favourable to future quiet, and that he does not seem enough aware how much soreness will arise from defeat, and how much the exhibition of the superiority of our family influence will be likely to promote combinations against it: I have strongly recommended that our laurels may be worn with meekness and modesty, and with renewed declarations of determination not to exert any interference beyond what has been professed in the county and the borough. If Lord Lonsdale’s family had attended to these considerations, neither his power nor his purse would have been attacked.

“Ebrington’s hopes continue to bear a better aspect. Burdett will I fear succeed ; the nasty hypocrisy of his *pure* professions contrasted with the grossest corruption and lowest electioneering artifices, makes his name and his cause very odious.

“I go on Sunday to Wimbledon. I have then a little business in London, which if I can finish to join you here on Thursday, I will do so, if not I will come to you direct from London to Dropmore on Friday. Let me know if anything alters your plan of being here on Wednesday and Thursday, and at Dropmore on Friday.

“I rejoice infinitely at Plunkett’s success. Long and Arbuthnot on Saturday last said Government had then lost only four. Tierney maintains his former statement of from 20 to 25.”

Enclosing a letter from the Marquess of Buckingham, mainly concerned with electioneering squabbles at Aylesbury and of no general interest.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1818, July 6. Cleveland Square.—“I return to you Plunkett’s letter, which is written in so much good taste and good feeling as to render it highly gratifying, and by a few lines from Stowe I find that a letter from him to Lord Buckingham has had a similar effect upon him ; Charles likewise, who has just left me, is highly pleased at the confirmation of Phillimore’s seat, and is now much interested in the success of his application to the Bishop of Durham to succeed Sir T[homas] Bernard as Chancellor of Durham, which is reported to be worth 5 or 600*l. per annum*.

“I groan over Burdett’s success as much as you can do, though I find Bruce and all his violent friends are heavily mortified in his being second to Romilly ; but it would have been a great circumstance to have had him put down in Westminster into the same low rank with Cobbett and Hunt, and it would have been a great gain for the House of Commons to have got rid of the daily offensive attacks which he makes upon it’s authority, and which the Ministers are too shabby and cowardly to punish as they ought by sending him to Newgate.

“Leach, whom I saw at Cashiobury, says that Arbuthnot and Long on Friday night told him, according to the returns then made, Government had lost 35 and gained 25, and that they expected their success in Ireland and Scotland to balance the account. Duncannon and Tierney still maintain that Opposition will ultimately gain between 20 and 25. The reports in town are that the Lowthers are sure, having 1,500 sure votes out of 2,400. The Queen’s state is described to be such as keeps her in constant danger with very little chance

of long surviving. I hope to meet you at Dropmore on Thursday."

Postscript.—"Lord Speneer continues too unwell to move to Ryde, but as he has just had a violent attack of gout I trust it will carry off all remaining malady."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1818, August 5. Ryde.—"I heartily wish that I could waft you over some of the fresh sea breezes which render the sun so delightful here, while I am afraid you are suffering from it even under all the beeches, shades and rocky caverns of Dropmore.

"I enclose to you an enquiry from Castle Hill which was intended to have found me at Dropmore, and which I have told Hester that she will receive an answer to from yourself. She talks with the greatest delight of their electioneering success, and though their bill will not be less than 10,000*l.* it is less than 20,000*l.* which Aekland has paid, and 13,000 which Bastard's friends have still to pay, their subscription having only amounted to 6 or 7,000, and Sir J. Rogers, the chairman of their committee (who threatened a protracted poll of fifteen days) is in mortal terror lest he should be found responsible for the remaining deficit of 7,000*l.* This sounds as if Rolle had led the attack by the cry of *Allès* instead of *Allons, mes enfans*, for a good round sum from him might have cleared this account; in the meantime, while Ebrington is thanking, his antagonists are actively canvassing for the next occasion, and boast that they have got already above 1,000 signatures, which looks menacing in case the King should die. They all go from Castle Hill the 1st October for a long visit to Delamere, Knowsley, Bishop Thorpe, etc., which is to bring them to Elton the 8th or 10th November.

"Tierney is here and tells me that his list contains the names of 175 members so decidedly in opposition as to desire to have notes sent to them; he reckons neutrals to be at least 50; he admits that his army is mutinous and undisciplined, but says, truly enough, that with such powerful numbers it will be awkward indeed not to find occasions to make those numbers tell. I was a little surprised to hear him say that above 100 would support triennial Parliaments; undoubtedly 175 declared opposition and 50 neutrals sounds like force enough to destroy any Government, but the best chance for Ministers is not in their own strength nor in the favour of the public, for they have little to boast of in either of these lines; their only hope is in the misconduct of their adversaries, which is so likely to be inflamed and excited by a confidence in their numerical strength, that I am persuaded they will be more outrageously untractable than ever, and

so I think Tierney expects to find them. Peele it seems is in high dudgeon at Robinson's seat in the Cabinet, and still the more so as an expectation of that honour was held out to Peele last year to induce him to retain his Irish place for another twelvemonth.

"Grant goes to Ireland, but his friends are not sanguine about his success. There is a new Grant in the House to support Government, and Denman for Opposition; these are the only promising lawyers or men of talents that the new election has supplied, as far as is known; new ones may start up, and it is high time they should."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1818, August 28. Ryde.—"The 1st of September will carry Lord Spencer into the wars of the partridges in Hertfordshire, and will put me upon my road to Sloane's at Paultons, after which I shall pass four or five days at Butleigh, and proceed from thence on the 8th or 9th of September to Bowood.

"I have just heard from Lord Lansdown and he expresses a strong hope that you and Lady Grenville will be persuaded to meet me, but whether he has any other grounds for that hope than his own wishes he does not inform me. I think you had better come, and satisfy yourself that the turf of Wiltshire is not a bit more moist or green than that of Dropmore; it rained a good deal here yesterday, and it blows so hard that I almost suspect we shall find the equinoctial storms of this year in the beginning of September instead of at the end of it. Lady Buckingham gets health but slowly, and talks of remaining here while he goes after his partridges. George and his wife arrived three or four days ago at Cowes, and as soon as he had landed he recollected that he must immediately go back again for a yeomanry dinner, so she is a widow at Cowes till his return. They have very foolishly taken a daughter of Lady Aug. Leith to live with them during the absence of her mother at Paris (who *par parenthèse* is no longer fit company for her own daughter or anybody else's daughter): a coarse girl of 19 who is called in the navy Moll Brazen from her having endeavoured though in vain to marry the captain of the *Brazen*.

"Let me have a line from you to Mr. Sloane's, Paultons, Romsey, and tell me that you will meet me at Bowood."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1819, January 20. Cleveland Square.—"The calls of London prevailed even in this beautiful weather, and I could not turn away from so near a stage as that of Cashibury. I have been buying books, and breeding indigestions by dining at Lord Holland's.

“Lauderdale thinks Lord Erskine will very probably not recover ; at 72 his pulse continues 120. The Chancellor is thought likely to fail, and it is thought if he does the seal will be put in commission. Pigott’s health would not do for it even if they offered it to him ; some name Richards, and some Leach, but I will back my candidate, viz. Lord Eldon, who will never give the seal from his hand as long as he can hold it. The King’s friends, as they are called, have been outrageous with Lord L[iverpool] for his intended Windsor economies, and have fairly bullied him out of them. Tierney told me yesterday it was not yet settled, but the expected project is to deduct 30 or 35,000*l.* from physicians, etc., and to give annually 10,000 to the D[uke] of Y[ork] upon the plea that the Q[ueen] had the same annuity for the custody of the person. This will be strenuously resisted and will drive Tierney into a division which he had meant to avoid entirely till the early motion on the Bank restriction.

“George moves for the Catholics in the Commons when Lord Grey moves in the Lords, at least so I hear in the street.

“Lord B[uckingham] is detained at Stowe confined to his bed by gout, fever and sore throat.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1819, January 26.—“When I received your letter I knew nothing of the change of Tierney’s motion ; I dined with Lord Lansdown and Lord Holland, and when I conversed with them upon it, I think they both admitted the force of your objections ; and I confess I think those remarks, upon the impolicy of Tierney’s having quitted his original motion for a committee on the Bank, are much fortified by seeing that the Ministers have adopted that as the best amendment to his present motion. In truth he has quitted his vantage ground, and his adversaries have occupied it, whereas it is now plain that if he had adhered to his first motion Ministers would have been forced to give way to it. Lord Lansdown is at a loss to account for this change of measures in the Government, but I think it is easily explained. They were unwilling to give Tierney the advantage of a *first* division upon so strong a question as the Bank committee, to which too they knew that you and your friends would accede, and they have thought they could best meet Tierney by an amendment in which they hope they shall have the concurrence of our friends. I have seen Charles and Fremantle, who are both undecided what to do, though Fremantle leans to the ministerial amendment as being the very measure to which you are known to be friendly, while upon the question of the general credit of the country you are known to differ with Tierney. You see therefore that by Tierney’s awkwardness

he will run the chance of losing the very support that he was the most anxious to obtain. The Bank restriction committee was the one motion which above all others it was the interest and duty of Opposition to move, and they have as usual marred their own market. The general notion is that the leaders in the Ministry are doing all they can to oust Sidmouth in order to make room for Peel, and Peel seems so well satisfied of this that he is making quite common cause with them in that hope.

“Lord Lansdown tells me that Lord Liverpool names him and you on the secret Bank committee; he accepts and is very anxious that you should too, and as this business is so forward in your thoughts and estimation, I trust you will not refuse yourself to it; it is a case in which you may render real and useful service to the country.

“I find by Dr. Latham that several of the R[oyal] Society are discussing your name as successor to Sir J[oseph] Banks if he should die; he will probably recover; but if he should not and the thing comes in your way, it may perhaps be in[] to you, and certainly at all events is flattering to you.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1819, January 28.]—“In consequence of your objections Tierney has altered his notice, by confining it to the resumption of payments in cash. This also embarrasses Ministers as to the manner in which they are to meet it. Van could not answer this question yesterday and Tierney is just gone down to see whether he can answer it to-day. Lord Liverpool told Lord Lansdown yesterday that he intended his committee to examine into the question of resumption of payments, and as much or as far upon that subject as they chose. It now seems understood that the Bank Directors have agreed to this committee only in the view of proving that they have sufficient funds, which they had thought had rather been put in doubt by Vansittart’s speech of last year. Lord Harrowby is louder than anybody in saying that he shall regard the resumption of cash payments whenever it may happen as the consummation of certain ruin to the country.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1819, February–March.]—“I was very much disappointed in learning from [] that nothing could be ascertained respecting the Cliefden sale except that Lord Boston had bought his lot, and that you had bought none, but that it was entirely unknown whether the other lots had been bought in, or had been *bonâ fide* sold.

“As the whole produce appears to have been only 26,120*l*. I take for granted the six lots in question were bought in with

a view of asking higher sums for them. Pray write me a line to tell me what hopes are left ; and what your speculations and expectations are. I cannot make up my mind to the notion of your losing what is between you and the road, nor can I understand who can afford to give more than you, as I take for granted you would not grudge giving 1,000 or 1,500 more than it can be valued at to any other person.

“ I hear no news except that it is certainly true the P[rince] R[egent]’s recent courtesies to his old friends are only the marks of his high displeasure at the reluctance and opposition which he finds from the Ministers to the question of divorce. This has been often said without my believing it, but I am now persuaded it is the truth.

“ The carriages are crowding to the Drawing Room, which I do understand, but the guns have just been firing, which I do not understand. Tierney’s health is very unpromising for his future operations.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1819, September 12. Trentham.—“ I am disappointed both in what I hear, and in what I do not hear, about you. Lord Grosvenor tells me that you are alarmed with a project of your neighbour’s house climbing up between Camelford House and the Park, and he does not seem to think himself sure of enabling you to make sufficient resistance ; he says he certainly has a legal right to prevent the cutting down of the two trees in the garden ; but then if they are illegally cut down, all he could do would be to recover their value, which would not prevent the new building. He repeats, however, that he still hopes he shall be able to defend you, but he does not explain the grounds on which those hopes rest. In the meantime, one has seen so many architectural plans discussed by the noble Duke, without a single brick being placed, that I know not how to think the danger very pressing, more especially when I recollect that there are already more rooms in their present house than are actually furnished or likely to be inhabited. The law too of modern days contradicts in its practice the old dictum of ‘ *cujus est solum ejus est usque ad cælum* ’ for last year the Duke of Norfolk was prevented from raising his own garden wall because it would darken his neighbours’ houses in Pall Mall, and this year the Chancellor has seemed to threaten Lord King if his new house shall render gloomy the windows of the neighbouring Bishop ; and neither of these two cases appear to me to be cases of as much grievance as that which menaces the daylight of Camelford House. But what I do not hear of is still more afflicting to the picturesque, for we are fast approaching to Michaelmas, and if Mr. Crawford does not purchase for you the ‘ *angulus iste* ’ before that time, another year’s lease will be let of the

ground, even if it be not sold to another bidder, and, at your age as well as mine, twelve months are worth to us a good deal more than they were half a century ago ; which consideration will I hope excite both your activity and your extravagance.

“Keep money enough, however, to buy *Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk*, in three thin volumes 8vo. ; they contain very amusing accounts of Jeffery, W[alter] Scott, Playfair, and all the modern *literati* of Scotland written with a good deal of talent by a Mr. Lockhart, a young Scotch advocate, with a good many heads etched by himself ; there is a very good letter describing a dinner with Jeffery and a blue stocking evening party, two admirable letters upon a comparison between the Scotch and English Universities (I think 13th and 14th letters) and a great deal of shrewd remark and amusing observation ; the only drawback is an unaccountable admiration of that dull blockhead Wordsworth, which is the more unintelligible as the author seems to be a man of a good deal of classical reading.

“Scott's *Bride of Lammermoor* has, I find, the interest at least of being founded on a true anecdote in Scottish history.

“The Lord Keeper is James, the 1st Earl of Stair, so created in 1703. The heroine was his sister, not daughter. The mother whose agency produced the horrible catastrophe was Margaret, heiress of Ross of Balneil in Wigtonshire ; she died 1692. The heroine was Janet her daughter who was compelled by her to marry the eldest son of Sir David Dunbar of Wigtonshire, and died insane almost immediately after the marriage. The husband, who survived, preserved the most mysterious silence as to the dreadful scene in the bridal chamber.

“The lover was of the name and house of Douglas ; he went abroad and was never heard of afterwards. W[alter] Scott had frequently told this story to my friend, having heard it from his mother and Mrs. A. Murray Keith and others.

“Our wedding is on the 16th and they will not let me go till it is over. I suppose your wanderings are begun and I suppose mine will turn towards Dropmore the middle of October if you are there.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1819, October 1. Vale Royal.—“In this part of the country as in every other where I have been, the Manchester Meeting engrosses the whole of the conversation of all societies. The general opinion however seems to have in it less of general alarm than I had expected ; there is a great confidence in the general mass of the people who, with the exception of the manufacturing districts, are said to be in no degree disaffected, and the contemptible characters of the present leaders among the reformers is another supposed security against any serious mischiefs from them. I believe, with those who so talk, that

the agricultural part of the population has no ill intentions ; indeed with this new code, which has grown out of the Poor Laws, by which they think themselves born to the inheritance of being supported, themselves and their families, out of the Poor's Rates, as long as that lasts, I do not see why they should wish for great radical changes ; but this does not quiet my apprehensions, because not only is the manufacturing part of the population extremely numerous, but, as far as one can judge, their discontented leaders appear to be uncommonly active in using all endeavours to give the most extensive circulation to their mutinous language and to be extending their connections into the most remote parts of the country ; and it does not appear that the prosecution of the three or four who are to be tried for publishing and circulating seditious libels has in any perceptible degree stopped the publication and circulation of them. Great rumours prevail of endeavours among the disaffected to produce before the winter what they call ' a general rising ' by which they mean probably breaking out into tumult and riot in so many different districts at once, as to baffle any hopes of the civil authority being effectually supported by the military. Whether they can or cannot produce this combined and extended riot to the degree to which it is talked of by them, may reasonably be doubted ; but I see no reason to doubt that such an intention may be carried into effect to a degree quite sufficient to produce very frightful consequences, if some early measures are not adopted for defence and security. Bills are talked of when Parliament meets, but Ministers do not talk, that I know, of assembling Parliament before February, which delay will leave the country for five months exposed to the dangers, whatever they are, that call for new measures of defence. The first obvious measure is that of inviting, through the Lord Lieutenants of counties, yeoman infantry and cavalry in such additions to the present force as could be made most practicable. The very thin ranks of the present yeomanry force not only makes them insufficient in point of number, but renders those who do appear less confident than they would feel if they were numerous enough to support each other with more effect ; and further, I should think there would be less difficulty in augmenting them on the present occasion, since in many of the printed papers of the Radicals they attack ' the middling orders ' for their servility, and threaten them as well as the richer proprietors with equalisation of property. Mr. Banks, a very rich Cheshire gentleman, now in this house, says that he has just come from Manchester, and that the populace there daily insult all who have the appearance of gentlemen and ladies, but particularly the latter, so much, that several who lived in small villas near Manchester to which they had retired from successful business

are selling their villas and quitting altogether that part of the country.

“Hitherto, bad as the *Times*, *Chronicle*, and *Globe* have been, Opposition seems to have taken as a party no general or decided part for them, nor have I heard of any respectable names, with the exception of Lord Grosvenor’s foolish letter and Lord Dundas’s foolish speech at York; yet this last I read of with much uneasiness, because it is difficult to believe that so decided a step could be taken at York without or against the concurrence of names much more respectable than the electioneering aldermen of the city.

“I am much afraid too of Lillies, though it is only a general fear, for I have heard nothing. If the younger Devonshire brother has written as well as you describe, it is something, but that those sentiments should have been conveyed to you without any expression of concurrence from the elder brother seems to me of very questionable import. The Berkshire member I am assured has pronounced in the most decided manner, in private society, against the Reformers, their opinions and practices—so much the better—but I hear nothing of Milton or Althorp or any other of the young inflammables.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1819, October 14. Wynnstay.—“It has given me very sincere pain to read the names which are affixed to the Yorkshire requisition, and I can still hardly believe my own eyes when I see them. The language that is circulated by the most moderate and sober-minded of them (if indeed that epithet can be truly applied to any who have joined in such a subscription) is to say that they are aware of the dangers of the times, and of the doctrines promulgated at these meetings, but that the safest way of parrying this danger is by the Whigs taking these meetings into their own hands instead of abandoning them to the Radical Reformers, etc. The childish folly and imbecility of this view of the subject is too provoking to allow of discussing it with any patience. If the history of all ages did not shew how constantly the moderates have in all revolutions been made first the tools, and then the victims of the most furious agitators, surely the recent example of the French Revolution, and the fate of the Brissotins, is a lesson sufficiently instructive even to the weakest understandings. The rash step that has been taken by the Whigs in giving their countenance and support to such men and such measures as now fill the public eyes, is in my opinion likely to do the greatest mischief in the country, which their influence could have produced. That it has been done with so much tardy consideration and reflection aggravates in my mind the misconduct and the folly of their proceedings. It is whispered

to me that Lord G[rey] and his son-in-law went from the north to Doncaster races, and there produced the Yorkshire requisition.

“Before that time I had passed a week at Worksop where I had much conversation with the master of the house, and I am glad to find that he has refused both his name and subscription to Lord F[itzwilliam], who visited him to ask it, and that, too, although his father had given both the one and the other. I left him augmenting his yeomanry, which is a measure that I still think has not been sufficiently promoted and encouraged by the Ministers. I had much conversation with Charles yesterday who sees the whole of this subject just as we do; he is gone to Welsh Pool to meet his yeomanry, and writes to-night to offer through the Lord Lieutenant to augment his numbers and to extend their services; and Watkin writes a similar letter to Lord Sidmouth with a similar offer to-night. I very much wish this course was more generally adopted. It would give an opportunity of displaying a constitutional desire to support the laws and the Government of the country, and would furnish at the same time the most efficient means of substantial defence.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1819, October 16. Llanvorda.—“I find Lord Carrington here, expressing great satisfaction at Lord Buckingham’s letter, and still more at hearing what he had presumed to be your opinions confirmed by my account of them. He approves as much as I do of the meeting of Parliament, intends to be there on the first day, and trusts that he shall meet you there, a confidenee in which I hope he will not be disappointed. Surely there never was a time in which it was more necessary for every man, according to his means and abilities, to set his shoulder to the wheel. D[uke] of Devonshire, L[or]d Carlisle, L[or]d Morpeth, L[or]d Surr y are names well saved from the disgrace of the Yorkshire requisition, but I am afraid by what I hear from Henry that his brother-in-law does not agree with Lord Carrington on this subject, and I am not without great apprehension of our two lordly nephews, though I have as yet heard nothing positive of them.

“I met at Wynnstay a Lancashire gentleman who is a magistrate, who told me that last year he had evidence upon oath that schools in his neighbourhood, recently instituted, and where not less than 2,000 children are educated, are in the hands and under the direction of these Radical Reformers, and that at more than one of them their master had publicly burnt the Bible before them; and that some of the speechifying Radical ladies of these latter meetings he knew to have placed children in these schools in order to have these opinions taught

to them. My authority is Mr. Brook, a gentleman of very large estate living at twelve miles from Manchester.

"I leave this place on Thursday and hope to get to Dropmore on Friday."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1819, December 10. Cleveland Square.—"Since I saw you there has little or nothing passed that was worth communicating to you; but I have just had a visit from Lord Nugent which has disturbed me a little on account of Lord Buckingham and Lord Temple, though I believe I can do no good in it for either of them. Lord N[ugent] found me alone, and said that he wished to take my opinion upon a letter of some importance, and to shew me the answer he had sent. While he was unfolding two papers, he said it was necessary that he should read to me a letter which he had received from some of his *constituents* who had *addressed* him in approbation of his conduct in Parliament, and had added that 'the time would soon come when the two members for the county would regret the indifference they had shewn to the slaughter of their countrymen.'

"I here stopped Lord Nugent and said that as I perceived the business in question referred to his conduct in Parliament that I must beg to decline having any discussion upon that subject, and that I was sorry I found myself obliged to tell him that upon that topic I desired to have no conversation whatever, and could see in it no advantage either to him or to me. He said he was sorry to press me upon a point that he was aware could not be agreeable to me, that he should have been glad to have shewn me his answer, which he had hoped I could not disapprove, but I continued to decline it, and after a little general conversation we parted. The painful part of this is that what I had foreseen has actually come to pass; here is a party at Aylesbury who are actually praising him and threatening his brother and his nephew with their displeasure for not being directed in their politics by the course he has taken for himself. I suppose his answer was to discourage this effusion of zeal in his followers, and that he thought I should approve of his doing so. But I have determined for myself never to discuss with him what I so highly disapprove as his conduct respecting *Aylesbury in the centre of his brother's property and interest*.

"I suppose you saw that he went to Westminster meeting to support Burdett and his incendiary resolutions at Covent Garden yesterday.

"The pain that I feel is all for Lord B[uckingham], who will, I fear, derive little comfort from Lord N[ugent's] answer to a letter which nothing but Lord N[ugent's] conduct could have produced. This is very distressing, but I can do no good in it."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1819, December 16. Cleveland Square.—“The Lords expect a long debate and division on Friday which will close the efforts of Opposition in that House. In the Commons Lord Castlereagh gained great credit by the way in which he conducted himself respecting Grampound. I believe he was obliged by his own friends to agree to bringing in a Bill upon that particular case, and I am glad that he resisted so absolutely all the abstract resolutions which were proposed as preliminary to it. Lord Camden told me just now *in confidence* that being himself friendly to the proposed Grampound Bill he asked Lord Liverpool whether it was to be supported by Government in the House of Lords and that Lord L[iverpool] assured him that he considered it as a measure of Government, and should most warmly support it, but that the Chancellor was adverse to every measure of every sort relating to this subject, and would therefore oppose it. Lord C[amden] added that since that time he had been sorry to hear D[uke] Wellington loud in his opposition to it, which gave him some fears, and I confess I partake of his apprehensions, for if these two Ministers put themselves in array and invite the bishops and Carleton House people to join them, the Bill will be thrown out, and all the world will believe that it was a mere juggle between the Ministers, and that Castlereagh all along knew and intended that the Lords should throw it out. This would have a very bad and perhaps dangerous effect upon the public mind under all the present circumstances, and it would be a thousand times better that Government should throw it out in the House of Commons than that there should be a prevailing impression in the country that Ministers had resorted to so unworthy a management. Charles seems partial to the notion of uniting the three Cornish boroughs into three contributory boroughs like the Scotch, and perhaps that might do very well but I had rather stick to Grampound only because I doubt whether all three have any chance of passing the Lords; besides, too, I am desirous of keeping each case separate, in order not to admit any large or sweeping measures or abstract resolutions. The rumours increase every hour of something being on the tapis about divorce, and Wilberforce told Lord C[amden] that he had this morning heard from what he thought *very good* authority that a divorce bill was to be tried. I think it a very unwise and hazardous experiment at this particular moment; to add to the inconveniences, I have just seen somebody from Brighton who says that the new passion for the *new old lady* is displayed both sides by the same young tenderesses in public which belong to a young man's first amorous captivities.

“How is it all to end?”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1820, January 25. Cleveland Square.—“The desolate waste of snow having vanished, now that I can see my way I hope to make it carry me to Dropmore.

“I have a *bold* project on foot of taking Ashridge in my way, and of reaching Dropmore on Sunday from thence. My courage may flag for this on Thursday, and yet I may brave the season so much as to reach Dropmore; either Thursday next therefore or on Sunday next you may depend upon seeing me, unless the horrors of snow should again bar my footsteps.

“The Duke of Kent is a loss for which I am not inconsolable. The expected death of the K[ing] is more formidable, bringing with it all the tumult of general election. The Duke of M[ar]borough [?] told me the day before yesterday that there was no positive malady but that he ‘declined much more rapidly.’ The country had been recovering its spirits and tranquillity, even in the disturbed districts; but Sir W[illiam] Scott shewed me yesterday a letter from Newcastle telling him that Lambton’s friends THE WHIGS had called a meeting for Reform to which they invited all the neighbourhood of Newcastle, and that the terms of the invitation were wide enough to include all the Radicals who professed to intend to go to the meeting and to support Lambton. The Mayor had refused his consent, but they said they would meet without him; Sir M[atthew White] Ridley meant to go to the meeting. The wickedness of this attempt, which seems expressly meant to renew all the tumults that had begun to subside, is too disgusting to dwell upon.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1820, February.]—“They have now *at 5 o’clock* taken altogether 14 out of the 25. Lord Castlereagh’s footman recognizes Thistlewood as having seen him perpetually at Lord C[astlereagh]’s door when his master was getting in or out of his carriage, but he never knew his name till he saw him at the secretary’s office for examination. It is quite true that the last information was given by a man who stopped Lord Harrowby as he was riding in the park on Wednesday and gave him a letter for Lord Castlereagh, observing that he did not dare deliver it at Lord C[astlereagh]’s door for fear of his being observed by some of the gang. The strangest thing of all is that Lord Camden told me (from Lord Castlereagh’s information to him) that the Ministers were apprized of an intention of this sort being fixed for the night of the Sp[anish] Ambassador’s great ball at Portland Place. Is it credible that after this information they took no measures but let the P[rin]ce and Duchess of Kent and all the company go there without taking the smallest precaution? And you

cannot but recollect reading in the papers that for the first three hours of the ball the mob were complete masters, and opened the doors of many of the carriages, till at length late at night they sent for the H[orse] Guards as it was not thought that the Regent could get away safely without them. Lord Lansdown tells me he means to ask in the House of Lords of Ministers whether there is any evidence of any ramifications from this project, or whether it is entirely an isolated conspiracy of these twenty-five men. I told him if I was Lord Liverpool I most certainly would not answer him, because it is obvious that a public declaration on this subject immediately previous to trial might be inconvenient either in the affirmative or negative, and that unless Ministers asked for new powers (which they do not as I hear), I did not think the House of Lords entitled to call for that information. He tells me that all is not yet smooth between the master and his servants; that the master has given in a fresh description of what he recommends and wishes, to *one part* of which there is still a demurr, which still remains unsettled. I presume this must relate to the question of more or less establishment or allowance.

“ Lord Camden starts Sir W[illiam] Scott for Bath as a *locum tenens* for Lord Brecknock, who is not of age till 2nd May; I should have thought the Oxford gowns and wigs would not have approved of their member going down to visit the apothecaries in the way of canvas, but Sir W[illiam] sees no objection and has promised Lord C[amden] to go to Bath as soon as the proclamation is out. Lord B[uckingham's] gout still wears a large shoe but he is a good deal better.

“ Ebrington set out on Wednesday upon hearing that Bastard has begun his canvas. W[ellesley] Pole stands again for Wiltshire but Lord Lansdown says he has not the smallest chance, nor any money to assist him in the contest.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1820, [June].—“ Your letter finds me abed or I would have come to you. I have sent on the packet to Lord B[uckingham] and write this while he reads it. The danger of the Lords passing his Bill and the Commons rejecting it is so transcendently great that I am almost ready to say that any course is preferable to that; and though the ill effects of giving way are obvious, I had certainly rather that this Bill was lost in the Lords, than carried there and lost in the Commons. The great danger of the new plan is that it is evidently founded on an avowed suspicion of the integrity of the House of Lords as a judicial court in this case and the proposed challenge recognizes that doubt and suspicion. Can this be endured? Can the House of Lords survive the degradation of such a proceeding in this case and retain their judicial authority

for its daily functions ? Undoubtedly part of this objection can be removed by the reasoning upon this as a special case, but still the principle of the objection remains to a fearful extent. I observe too that the popular and factious prejudices against the Lords will not be removed by this measure, as the odium of Lords as triers will continue, after the challenge, in the minds of the misled multitude, perhaps to almost as great a degree as before it. If the present course must be abandoned, from the fearful danger of one House passing and the other rejecting the Bill, I almost think it would be better to prorogue and end the proceeding ; or if a new mode of trial must be resorted to, would not a jury of Commoners be the only court that will remove the prejudices against the Peers ? The great danger of which I so often speak *must* I think in prudence be avoided, and my chief doubt upon a transient view of W[ilberforce's] plan is whether ending the proceeding by prorogation, though full of mischief, is not better than a change of course, unless you can be sure that the new course will be more acceptable to the people than the old. It certainly ought to be, but the ardent and wicked heads that direct the present storm may, I think, almost as easily direct the prejudices of the people against the H[igh] Steward's Court of Peers as against the present House of Peers, and how the honour of the Lords as a judicial court is to be saved as against the proposed challenge I cannot see. If these objections are not sufficiently strong, I do not see any other real objection to W[ilberforce's] plan. But if there is little or no probability of the Commons passing the Bill, I am clear that anything is preferable to that overwhelming danger ; and if concession is made, perhaps the only alternative is prorogation or a trial in an established court of law according to the common usages of common juries before some of the ordinary tribunals. But that is so difficult that in my mind a final stop to the proceedings is preferable to the looking for a *new course* which, when found, will be made a new subject of the same clamour ; the only way of preventing that clamour, if we must be governed by it, is to end the proceeding altogether, or to refer it to a common jury in an ordinary court of law, which latter measure is perhaps impracticable. If the measure of prorogation is adopted, it must include the humiliating measure of withdrawing all matter of charge and accusation by some message from the Crown, or by resolutions moved in the two Houses, declaring that no known law existing for the trial of the charges preferred against the Q[ueen] a legislative measure must be taken to prevent such a future evil. All this is very bad, but if you concede, as I think I incline to think, you had better concede *all* than too little. Why not throw out the Bill in the Lords on the grounds stated by the Queen's counsel ?

“Lord B[uckingham] well enough to go out and has so signified by letter to Sir B[enjamin] B[loomfield] but has heard nothing yet, nor is any Chapter yet summoned.

“Lord B[uckingham] wrote to Lord L[iverpool] telling him of the pleasure that he had received from the gracious offer, and thanking him for his *acquiescence* in the grant.

“Lord L[iverpool] writes a handsome answer, as if he was party to it, is very glad it gives so much pleasure and that it carried the peculiar grace of coming immediately from the Sovereign instead of through the Minister as in ordinary cases.

“Lord Glastonbury complimented the writing of the letter to the K[ing], but I am not sure it was discreet to shew it to him, as it may lead to its being talked too much of.

“No news and less belief of any Dukes.

“Brougham is said to be gone to the Q[ueen] at Calais.”

APPENDIX.

WILLIAM WALTON to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, April 25. Whitehaven.—“ I have received the letter which you did me the honour to address me, dated 22nd instant, and agreeable to your directions have sent one sheet of my remarks, which hope will arrive safe. Every sheet will be regularly paged 1, 2, 3, 4, and so continued forward, which will facilitate the reading. I had wrote out this sheet ready to send in case I received your lordship’s instructions for that purpose. Will send a continuation as fast as I can arrange and write them out proper for your lordship’s inspection.

“ Beg leave to observe that I have three objects in view. First, to counteract the deep-laid schemes of the self-created Emperor Napoleon and his most wonderful assistant Talleyrand to ruin the manufactures and commerce of Great Britain, which will ultimately greatly injure, if not destroy, our at present most powerful navy, by putting a stop to our carrying trade for want of foreign markets.

“ *Secondly*, to prevent the United States of America from rising too fast as a great naval power, on the decline of the British commerce and carrying trade.

“ *Thirdly*, to establish good and proper markets for the sale and consumption of British manufactures without being under the disagreeable necessity of applying either to France or to Spain, and depending upon them for commercial treaties, and requesting their permission to dispose of our commodities in their markets.

“ As your lordship’s goodness permits me to send them immediately to yourself, it may be as well for you to keep them, which will preclude the necessity of having such parts copied as may meet your approbation.

“ When you have received and examined four sheets of these remarks, I shall be glad to receive your lordship’s further instructions, which may be done in a very few words; if approved of you can say, I wish you to continue the remarks. If not deserving your lordship’s attention you can direct me not to send any more of them. I wish to take up as little as possible of your lordship’s time in writing, being fully sensible of the immense load of business which you have on your hands.”

Enclosure :

“ The wonderful navy of Great Britain, all powerful as it is, must depend on her commerce.

“The true political system necessary to be pursued by Great Britain is for her to assist the inhabitants of Mexico and Peru to become independent of Spain, in the same manner as France and Spain actually assisted the United States of America to become independent of Great Britain.

“Great Britain will err if she proposes to conquer them, and make them provinces to become wholly dependent on herself, for various strong and forcible reasons. The number of souls in Mexico and Peru are too great to be conquered and kept in long and constant subjection by any military force that Great Britain can at present send out, recruit, supply, and spare for that purpose, as the following statement (which may be depended upon) will plainly show.

“Number of inhabitants in Mexico subject to the Spanish Government in year 1802.

2,315,160 Indians, men, women and children.

856,420 Mulattoes, Mestees, Sambos and Quadroons.

679,842 Negroes, men, women and children.

582,315 Creoles born in Mexico, the descendants of Spaniards.

364,742 Spaniards born in old Spain, but now residents in Mexico.

4,798,479 Inhabitants in Mexico subjects to Spain in the year 1802.

“Number of inhabitants in Peru subjects to the Spanish Government in year 1802.

2,846,351 Indians, men, women and children.

687,412 Mulattoes, Mestees, Sambos, and Quadroons.

539,628 Negroes, men, women and children.

476,593 Creoles born in Peru, the descendants of Spaniards.

294,412 Spaniards born in old Spain, but now residents in Peru.

4,844,396 Inhabitants in Peru.

4,798,479 Inhabitants in Mexico.

9,642,875 In Mexico and Peru subjects of Spain in year 1802.

“Population of the largest towns and cities.

200,000 in city of Mexico. People of all sorts and colours.

80,000 „ Lima. „

70,000 „ San Francisco de Quito. „

70,000 „ Los Angeles. „

36,000 „ Cuenza. „

35,000 „ Guadalaxara. „

30,000 „ Potosi. „

28,000 „ Carthagena. „

25,000 „ Popayan. „

22,000 in city of Guaquil. People of all sorts and colours.
 20,000 „ Riobumba.

“ This enumeration of the inhabitants in Mexico and Peru was taken in the year 1802, and as the clergy took it in their respective districts by orders of their superiors, the archbishops and bishops respectively, it may be depended upon, being as exact and correct as it was in their power to procure it.

“ The male Indians from eighteen to fifty years of age pay an annual tribute on the average of nine reals of plate per head (make about three shillings and ninepence English per head); this tribute amounted to 1,700,000 hard dollars (Pesos Fuertes) 4/6 English per dollar in the year 1802.

“ The Bull of Crusade (*La Bula de la Santa Cruzada*) is purchased annually in the beginning of the year before Lent begins by almost every individual, both poor and rich, of the Spaniards, Creoles, Mulattoes, Mestees, Sambos, Quadroons, free negroes as likewise negro slaves. But few of the Indians purchase these bulls. They are sold at various prices from two reals (fivepence English each) to twenty hard dollars (4/6 English each) and are purchased according to people's rank in life, inclinations and abilities to pay for them. Bulls of two to ten reals each are purchased by slaves, servants and poor people. In the year 1802 the number of bulls sold were :—

2,612,435 in Mexico.

1,796,214 in Peru.

4,408,649 Bulls were sold in Mexico and Peru in the year
 1802.

“ The Revenue made by the Bull of Cruzada in Mexico and Peru added together in the year 1802 was 1,400,000 hard dollars.

“ On the arrival of the British troops in Mexico and Peru they must disperse manifestoes in the Spanish, Mexican and Peruvian languages, and therein inform the inhabitants at large that the British troops are not come amongst them to conquer them, but to assist them in expelling the Spaniards, in order to make them hereafter a free independent people to be governed by themselves, and by their own laws, such as they may think suitable and proper to be made by themselves, soon as the Spaniards are drove out of the country; that Great Britain will make an alliance with them, which shall last for ever; that Great Britain will always assist them to remain independent of all nations and people whatever that might or may hereafter or at any time attempt to conquer them, or attack them under any pretence whatever; and that, as soon as they are independent of Spain, they shall have free liberty to carry on trade and commerce with whatever people, country, or nation, in any part of the world which they may themselves think proper. The certain beneficial consequences

that will arise from these manifestoes will be, that you will divide them as follows—

5,161,511 Indians, the greatest part of them will remain quiet ; those which do act, it will be in your favour and against the Spaniards.

1,543,832 Mulattoes, Mestees, Sambos, Quadroons will all wish you to succeed ; part will remain quiet, and part will assist you to expel the Spaniards.

1,219,470 Negroes, the free negroes, as well as those that are slaves, will all wish you success ; numbers of them will assist to expel the Spaniards.

1,058,908 Creoles, will all most heartily wish you success. They all hate mortally the Spaniards from old Spain, whose errand is to raise fortunes by plunder, and then return back to old Spain. The greatest part of these Creoles will assist you with their lives and fortunes to expel the Spaniards.

659,154 Spaniards, born in old Spain. The greatest part of them naturally will not wish you success ; all those that have places, posts, and appointments under the Spanish Government, as well as the Spanish officers and soldiers from old Spain, will oppose you and fight against you with all their strength, power and influence ; but consider attentively how they are separated from one another, at what immense distances they are fixed and stationed from one another in these immense countries, and how few of them can be brought together so as to act collectively in one body.

9,642,875

“ The Spaniards are fully aware of their critical situation, and know it to be an undoubted fact that the Creoles, assisted by the Mulattoes, Mestees, Sambos, Quadroons and negroes, would soon drive them out of the country, even without any European assistance, if they durst but make the attempt ; but their spirits are so depressed by the arbitrary government of the Spaniards that they dare not make a beginning, because, in case they were not successful, the Spaniards would punish them without mercy, put them to death, confiscate all their properties, and ruin all their families. In their present situation they only want a rallying point to resort to, skilful generals and leaders to conduct them, encourage them to begin to act with vigour, and to persevere therein, all which requisites a British army would most fully and amply supply them with. The number of archbishops, bishops, dignitaries, regular clergy,

religious orders of men and women, as monks, friars, nuns, is very great ; all of them will be perfectly quiet if they may be permitted to remain quiet. You must declare and engage strictly in your manifestoes that they shall not be molested, insulted, nor their churches, houses and property plundered or robbed, provided they remain quiet, do not interfere in any manner, nor act against you themselves, or encourage others to do it ; and it will be decidedly for your interest to protect them on these conditions, because they have prodigious weight with, authority and power over the inhabitants at large, and their example will have great influence over the minds and actions of all the rest. Be particularly careful not to make the Church your enemies by ill-timed severities or plundering them.

“The following statements will give you some idea of the riches, power and influence of the Church in Mexico and in Peru.

“The Patriarch of the Indies.

“The following archbishops and bishops are residents at their respective dioceses and great praise is due to them for their exemplary lives and manners.

“*First.* The Archbishop of Mexico, who has under him eight suffragan bishops ; first, bishop of Puebla de los Angeles ; second, bishop of Mechocan ; third, bishop of Oxoca ; fourth, bishop of Guadalajara ; fifth, bishop of Yucatan ; sixth, bishop of Durango ; seventh, bishop of Nuevo Reyno de Leon ; eighth, bishop of Sonora.

“*Second* is the Archbishop of Guatemala, who has under him three suffragan bishops—first, bishop of Comayagua ; second, bishop of Nicaragua ; third, bishop of Chiapa.

“*Third*, the Archbishop of Lima, who has under him nine suffragan bishops—first, bishop of Arequipa ; second, bishop of Truxillo ; third, bishop of Quito ; fourth, bishop of Cuzco ; fifth, bishop of Guamanga ; sixth, bishop of Panama ; seventh, bishop of Chile ; eighth, bishop of Concepcion de Chile ; ninth, bishop of Cuenca.

“*Fourth*, the Archbishop of Charcas, who has under him five suffragan bishops—first, bishop of Nuestra Senora de la Paz ; second, bishop of Tucuman ; third, bishop of Santa Cruz de la Sierra ; fourth, bishop of Paraguay ; fifth, bishop of Buenos Ayres.

“*Fifth*, the Archbishop of Santa Fé, who has under him four suffragan bishops—first, bishop of Popayan ; second, bishop of Cartagena ; third, bishop of Santa Marta ; fourth, bishop of Merida de Maracaybo.

“*General statement of the clergy, religious, and convents in Mexico and Peru in the year 1802.*

1 Patriarch.

5 Archbishops.

29 Bishops.

417 Abbots, dignitaries, deans, canons, prebendaries.

38,612 Inferior clergy employed as parish priests, and to instruct the inhabitants of all sorts, subjects to the Spanish Government.

1,473 Inferior clergy employed in converting and instructing the Indians, who are not subjects to the Spanish Government.

61 Convents in the city of Mexico.

43 Convents in the city of Lima.

862 Convents in all Mexico and Peru, which contain 45,826 souls ; religious, as monks, friars, nuns, lay brothers, lay sisters.

“ When the order of the Jesuits was expelled, they possessed in Mexico and in Peru one hundred and seventeen colleges and houses appropriated as schools for education and instruction, and the number of their body amounted to two thousand four hundred and sixty eight Jesuits and novices, with upwards of four thousand students, great numbers of which were educated gratis, and many others on a very small pension, which made their banishment a very great and serious loss to the community at large, and to be deeply regretted by all ranks of people, but in particular by all those who had benefitted by their instructions. The expulsion of the Jesuits was looked upon as a most impolitic, violent, and ill-judged measure ; they excelled all the other orders of clergy as preachers and instructors of the lower orders of people of all kinds, as well as in the education, forming, and bringing up of youth intended for the higher stations and situations in life, as the nobility, gentry, the church, physic, law, and other learned professions. In their manners, discipline, conduct and mode of life, they always supported the very highest character, and all the Spanish writers concur in vindicating their conduct on all occasions. Their expulsion was a measure dictated and directed by the Court of Spain, and was extremely disagreeable to the people at large, who have always complained heavily ever since of being deprived of the constant benefits they formerly received from this most able and learned body of clergy ; and their restoration to the colleges, churches, houses, and other places, which they formerly held and possessed in Mexico and Peru, as well as Paraguay, would be a most politic measure, and of the greatest benefit and advantage to whatever nation, people or persons that promoted it, and were the means of bringing it about ; and the Jesuits would for ever after show their gratitude by their firm and steady attachment, and by promoting constantly the interest and plans of their friends by every means in their power.

“ The revenues of the church in Mexico and in Peru are immense,

“The ornaments of the churches are most magnificent.

“The city of Mexico, by the Indians called Tenuchtitlan, contains

One large and most superb cathedral.

Thirty-four public churches.

Sixty-one convents, with each a church belonging to it.

“It is an Archbishop’s See, the revenues of which are ninety thousand pounds sterling *per annum*, of which the Archbishop has thirty thousand pounds, besides casual fines which make him ten to twelve thousand pounds sterling *per annum* more. The remainder, sixty thousand pounds sterling *per annum*, is divided amongst the rest of the clergy belonging to this cathedral as they stand in dignity and rank; they amount to about four hundred in number, and including the musicians, singers and others.

“The cathedral is built in the form of a cross, is lofty and spacious; the paintings, gilding and carving are most exquisite. The treasures in this cathedral are great, beyond description. The *custodia* is all made of silver; it took sixty four ounces of pure gold to gild it, it contains a vast number of silver pillars, and upwards of one hundred little silver images of different saints of most rare workmanship. In the centre of the church stands the image of St. Hypolito, the patron of Mexico, made of pure gold and placed on a shrine of silver. On another silver shrine stands an image of the infant Jesus, made of pure gold and adorned with eight hundred precious stones. Likewise a grand silver throne, on which is placed the image of the Blessed Virgin, made of silver, wearing a most superb crown, and adorned with a profusion of the most valuable and most precious stones; the whole weight is sixty *arrobas* of silver, which at twenty-five pounds in each *arroba* make fifteen hundred pounds weight of silver. In the chapel of the Blessed Virgin is an altar made of silver, inlaid with gold. There are forty-eight candlesticks, all made of silver and four feet high, of most curious workmanship.

“Three hundred masses are said every day in this cathedral.

“They consume annually at the altars and in the processions, eight hundred *arrobas* of oil—make 2,500 gallons; one thousand *arrobas* of wine—make 3,125 gallons; twelve hundred *arrobas* of wax—make 30,000 pounds.

“There are ten large gold lamps and thirty large silver lamps, in which they burn oil both day and night.

“The crucifixes are wonderfully rich and of most curious workmanship.

“The ornaments on the altars and the vestments of the archbishop and clergy are of silk, satin, velvet, gold and silver stuffs, gold and silver lace, exquisite embroidery covered with a profusion of most valuable diamonds and other precious stones.

“The rest of the churches and convents in the city of Mexico

are proportionally rich and splendid, and their revenues are surprisingly great."

W[ILLIAM] WILBERFORCE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, May 20. Palace Yard.—"Your last friendly note touched a string which had already begun to vibrate in my heart since the decision of the Lords on the *Foreign Slave Bill*, and I have been ruminating on the subject myself, and, as opportunity offered, have been talking it over with a very few intelligent friends of sentiments congenial to my own. Mr. William Smith, I find, has been talking the matter over with Mr. Fox, who, as Mr. Smith told me, said he would consult with your lordship on the expediency of trying the main question in this session. Mr. Stephen, who is accustomed to think and state his opinions on paper more than in any other way, has sent me a manuscript which states very clearly some of the leading considerations, though I own in my judgment not all of them, especially not all those which might be urged in favour of the attempt. It contains nothing which will not have occurred to your lordship's own mind, if you have reflected at all on the subject, but as the perusal of it will take only a few moments I will enclose it, that your lordship may run it over if you please. I own that, considering all the unknown possibilities of things, I cannot help assigning great weight to the consideration of the present time being, in some respects of leading importance, less unfavourable (for I dare not use a stronger term) than possibly (I sincerely hope it is only possibly, and not probably) next year will be. An idea, however, has forcibly struck my own mind which I wish your lordship to consider very seriously; it is that if the measure be to be brought forward at all, it had better be not by me but by Mr. Fox. The circumstance of your patronizing the measure in the House of Lords and Mr. Fox in the House of Commons will have, I trust, great weight in neutralizing some who might otherwise be active enemies; and in converting into decided friends some who might otherwise be neutral. I have for many years heard stated an objection which this arrangement would remove, and I am sure I need not say to your lordship that if the measure itself should receive, as I think it would, material benefit from my relinquishing the conduct of it, I should be far more than compensated for the personal sacrifice. I have just thrown out this idea to Mr. Fox in the House of Commons, and he said he would turn it in his mind. Let me only use the freedom to suggest that if the measure be to come forward at all this session, no time is to be lost.

"I will also mention another conception which has occurred to me as possibly not a bad resource if, on actually trying the measure, we find more objections and difficulties than we now

anticipate to arise. This is, that we might in that event accede to the wishes of some of the Lords, and remit the subject to a committee of inquiry above stairs, which might commence at least, and prosecute to a certain degree, its labours, though it should not be able to bring them to a conclusion. Indeed, if farther examination be to be allowed, which I own I deprecate (and I admired your laying in betimes your objection to the unreasonableness of it the other night), it never can be finished in the same session in which it begins ; and therefore it may not be amiss to make a beginning, that when the next session commences we may be so far on our journey. But as I have already said, I see many objections to renewing the inquiry.

“ I ought to apologise for such a desultory letter, but I know that both from your zeal for the cause and your friendly feelings towards myself, you will construe it kindly. May the great disposer of all events direct you to a right conclusion, and in this and many other instances render your Administration a blessing not only to your own country but to the whole world.”

SIR JOHN NEWPORT to THE SAME.

[1807,] March 17. Jermyn Street.—“ As the Seditious Meeting Bill will go up this day to your House I will not delay expressing to your lordship my opinion that you will do the State much service and yourself much honour by trying in its progress to procure from the House of Peers a general and unqualified censure of the odious principle on which the Orange societies of Ireland are founded.

“ Such a declaration, as you will remember, was made by all the leading members of the Commons a few years since on Mr. Wynne’s motion, when it was attempted to extend them to this island ; and Lord Castlereagh admitted in express terms on Friday night that he had not varied from the opinion he before delivered as to their impolicy and illiberality. He contended, however, against directing any part of the provisions of this or any other Act to their suppression, alleging that it would be a breach of faith pledged to *Ireland* by him on opening the system of measures to the House.

“ It will however be quite apparent to your lordship that the exception of Ireland from every part of this Act, *permanent* as well as *temporary*, united with the circumstance that no Act exists for that island similar to the British Act of 1799, will naturally be interpreted as a marked expression of favour to these societies, and revive their dormant spirit, if your lordship’s influence, and that of other peers who feel and value as it deserves the principle of maintaining the peace of Ireland, be not exerted to counterwork its operation.

“ In what manner this can be most usefully effected I do not presume to pronounce, but am sure you can easily devise.”

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